The Changing Face of Orange County

california JOURNAL

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A SPECIAL ISSUE

Orange COUNTY

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Alumni / Berkeley Library / Berkley SACL / Korea Reunification Symposium Committee **Brawley** Brawley Cattle Call Rodeo / Brawley Parks and Recreation / Brawley Women's Auxiliary Club / Jim Rockwell Project: Brawley H.S. / Sober Graduation, Brawley Union H.S. **Brentwood** CA Waterfowl **Burbank** Luv-It / St. Jude Children's Research Hospital **Calexico** Calexico Chamber of Commerce: Cinco de Mayo Celebration, Farm Workers Breakfast, 4th of July Celebration, Mexican Independence, 16th of September Fiesta / Calexico Educational Foundation / Calexico Noonimers Lions Club Beer & Wine Tasting / Calixco Rotary Crab Fest / Jim Rockwell Project: Calexico H.S. / Welcome Back Teachers Luncheon **Camarillo** First Annual Father's Day Run / Jason Barber, Oxnard H.S. **Camp Pendleton** Camp Pendleton Armed Services / YMCA **Carlsbad** Rotary Club **Carson** Women's Group of Carson **Chico** Annie's Art Festival / Boys and Girls Club / Butte County Hispanic Days / CSUC Alcohol And Drug Ed. Ctr / Chamber of Commerce / Chico Youth Soccer / Chico Ski Club / Community Radio KZFM / Easter Seals / Esplanade House for Children / March of Dimes / Pleasant Valley H.S. Sports Booster / Safe Grad Night, Chico H.S., Pleasant Valley H.S. / Soroptimus International / USA Disabled Water Ski Team / We ID Task Force **Citrus Heights** Chamber of Commerce / Sunrise Community Senior Center / Sunrise Little League **Chula Vista** Yacht Club Serendipity Auction **Clayton** TIPS Certification of Retailers, Ed's Mudville Grill **Clovis** Chamber of Commerce / Ducks Unlimited / Elks Club **Colfax** Chamber of Commerce / Colfax H.S. Grad Night **Concord** American Cancer Society / Chamber of Commerce / Concord Cup / Fall Fest / Concord Police / Greek Festival / Mt. Diablo School District / NAACP Scholarships / Rainbow Community / St. Demetrios Church / TIPS Certification of Retailers **Coachella** Coachella Boxing Club / Kids to Camp / United Way / World Boxing Hall of Fame **Coarsegold** Coarsegold Boosters Club **Danville** Chamber of Commerce / Danville Pumpkin Festival / Ducks Unlimited / Jim Rockwell Project: San Ramone H.S. **Davis** Chamber of Commerce **Del Mar** Friends of the Del Mar Library **Desert Hot Springs** Boys and Girls Club **Dorris** Dorris Volunteer Fire Department **Downey** Downey Memorial Hospital Foundation/ Downey Sister Cities Assn. / YMCA **Dublin** Dublin-San Jose Sister City Commission **Dunsmuir** Dunsmuir H.S. Sober Graduation/ YMCA, Maddalena Ecke Family YMCA **East Los Angles** CHP 11-99 Foundation / Sheriff's Department **El Centro** Adopt a School Program-Hedrick School / Alert Cab / Alford Antique Auto Museum Public Tours / Alford Recycling Educational Outreach and Tours / American Diabetes Assn. / American Citizens Club Scholarship Fund / American Heart Assn. / American Lung Assn. / Battle of the Badges / Blue Angels Air Show / Burn Institute / CHP Adopt a Family / CHP Community Advisory Board / CA Mid-Winter Fair & Fiesta, Jr. Livestock Auction / COTS, Drunk and Drugged Driving Prevention Month / COTS, Lights on for Life, Designated Driver / Cancer Society / Cattle Call Cook-Off / Caring Connections / CASA Villanueva / Centro Cultural of Imperial Valley, Dia de Raza, Fiesta Patrias, Hispanic of the Year Award / Child Abuse Prevention Council / Doves / Earth Day / El Centro Chamber of Commerce / El Centro Lions / Family Talk About Drinking / Fatal Vision, Underage Drunk Driving Program / Jim Rockwell Project: Southwest H.S. / Julian Grape Stomp / Kiwanis Early Riser / La Gente Super Car Show / Lester Derrick Memorial / Team Penning / MANA / March of Dimes / Muscular Dystrophy Assn. / National Hispanic Scholarship Fund / Niland Sports Festival Southwest Racing Assn. / Office of Education School to Career Day /Pioneers Memorial Hospital / Police Athletic League / Red Ribbon Parade / SADD / Safe Boating / Seeley 4-H Club / Sober Graduation, Central Union H.S. / Sunrunners Car Club / The Binational Mural Project / TIPS / United Way / Woman Haven / Work Training Mariachi Festival **Encinitas** Scripps Memorial Hospital Spine Center **Escalon** Chamber of Commerce **Etna** Sober Graduation **Fallbrook** Friends of Pala Mission **Fairfield** Travis Air Show **Firebaugh** Chamber of Commerce **Folsom** Chamber of Commerce **Fresno** American Heart Assn. / American Legion / Artes America / Big Brothers & Big Sisters / Boys & Girls Club of America / Bulldog Foundation / Cancer Society / Centro Belas Artes / Crime Stoppers / El Concilio De Fresno / Fresno Art Museum / Fresno Downtown Assn. / Fresno Ducks Unlimited / Fresno Duggout Club / Fresno Hispanic Chamber of Commerce / Fresno MAPA / Fresno NAACP / Fresno Police Assn. / Fresno Rugby Club / Fresno State Athletic Assn. / Fresno Zoological Society / Kastner Jr. High-Alcohol Awareness / League of Mexican-American Women / Make a Wish Foundation / MAPA Del Valle / March of Dimes / Mexican-American Bowling Assn. / Mexican-American Golf Assn. / Newman Center / Pan American Club / Scottish Highland Society / St. Agnes Foundation / St. Anthony's Church / St. Catherine's Church / St. John's Church / St. Mary's Church / Tower District Marketing Committee / United Blackmen of Fresno / United Cerebral Palsy **Galt** Adopt A Family / Boys & Girls Club / Chamber of Commerce / Jackman Middle School Soccer / Kids Fishing Derby / Nevada County Fire Safety Council **Grass Valley** Nevada Union H.S. Grad Night / Taxi Time Program **Greater Solana Beach** Chamber of Commerce **Happy Camp** Happy Camp H.S. Sober Graduation **Indio** CHP / Elk's Lodge #1643 / Indio Senior Center / Mariachi Estrella / Riverside Sheriff's Department / Shelter from the Storm **Imperial Valley** Law Enforcement Charity Fund / Sheriffs Heat Golf Tournament / Border Patrol Welfare and Recreation / Chamber of Commerce / Rotary / College Foundation / Fire Chiefs Assn. / Grocers Alliance / Historical Museum **Jackson** Lions Club **Kerman** Chamber of Commerce **Klamath River** Ron Quigley's Memorial Basketball Tournament **Lake of the Pines** Bear River H.S. Grad Night **La Quinta** La Quinta Arts Foundation **Laton** Laton Lions Club **Lincoln** Chamber of Commerce **Lockford** Lockford-Clements Lions Club **Lodi** Boys & Girls Club / Chamber of Commerce **Los Angeles** Boy Scouts of America / Children's Miracle Network / Ducks Unlimited / Easter Seals Society of Southern CA / Food Industries Circle for City of Hope / Hispanic Scholarship Fund / John Tracy Clinic / USC / Weingart Center **Madera** Eastern Madera Chamber of Commerce / Espirito Santo De Madera / Chamber of Commerce / Madera Hispanic Chamber of Commerce **Manteca** Boys & Girls Club / Chamber of Commerce / Lions Club **Marin** Boy Scouts of America / Chamber of Commerce / Fire Safety / Peace Officers Assn. **Martinez** Chamber of Commerce / July 4th Celebration / Korean Baptist Church / Sheriffs Charity, Inc. **Marysville** Feather River Fury Baseball Designated Driver **McCloud** Jaws of Life Program / McCloud Community Fire Department / Sober Graduation **Modesto** Delta Blood Bank / Downtown Rotary / Canyon Classic Century Bike Ride / Center For Human Services / Central Catholic Foundation Board / Childrens Crisis Center / 4-H Club / Future Farmers of America / Jim Rockwell Project: Central Catholic High, Modesto H.S. / Gospel Mission / Police Department / Parent Resource Center / Rotary Club Bike Ride / Salvation Army / Stanislaus County Sheriff's Department **Montebello** Youth Education Summit Program **Monterey** American Cancer Society / American Heart Assn. / AT&T Junior Golf Foundation / Boys and Girls Club / Ducks Unlimited / Hospice of the Central Coast / Jim Rockwell Project / Monterey Peninsula Foundation / Police Activities League / RADD / Surfrider Foundation / The Human Race / We ID Campaign **Moraga** Kiwanis's Club / St. Mary's College **Mount Shasta** Boy Scouts / Chamber of Commerce / DARE / DDGIF CHP Charity Golf / Elks / Lions Club / Meals on Wheels / Mercy Medical Auxiliary / Rotary / Siskiyou Opportunity Center / Sober Graduation / **National City** Chamber of Commerce **Nevada City** Taxi Time Program **North Fork** North Fork Boosters **Northridge** Sober Graduation, CSU at Northridge **North Valley** American Cancer Society **Novato** Boy Scouts of America / Branson H.S. / DARE / Dominican University Leadership Forum / Redwood Empire Assn. / Ross General Hospital / Sober Graduation at Area H.S. / St. Vincent's School for Boys **Oakland** Alameda County Community Food Bank / American Heart Assn. / American Red Cross East Bay Chapter / Asian Youth Service Committee / Bay Area Black Uni... Fund / Big Brother Big... Black Adoption Placement... / Boys and Girls Club / CA Asian and Pacific American / CAL-PAC / Chamber of Commerce, China Town, Oakland / Children's Hospital / Children Support Center / Easter Seals / Lincoln Youth Center / NAACP / Native Sons of the Golden West / Business Assn-Arab Council / Oakland Civic Pride / Rotary Club / One Hundred Black Men / Patrons of the Art and Humanities / Second Start Adult Literacy Program / Summit Medical Center Foundation / Wa Sung Service Club / YMCA and YWCA **Oakley** Oakley Almond Festival / Oakley School District **Oceanside** Mission San Luis Rey Parish / Tri-City Hospital Foundation **Orangevale** Almond Avenue Residence Club / Pershing Elementary PTA **Pacoima** Chamber of Commerce **Palm Desert** Boys and Girls Club **Palm Springs** Children's Miracle Network / Desert Beautiful / Foundation for the Arts / National World War II Memorial Fund / Aero Squad / Police Department / Youth Program **Parlier** Chamber of Commerce **Petaluma** Sonoma-Marin County Fair **Placer County** Foothill Search and Rescue / National Kidney Foundation **Pleasant Hill** TIPS Certification of Retailers, Magoo's **Pittsburg** Black Political Assn. / Boys and Girls Club / Chamber of Commerce / Lisa's Closet / Pittsburg Leisure Services / New York Landing Seafood Festival / Renaissance Faire **Rancho Mirage** AID's Assistance Program **Rancho Santa Fe** Rancho Santa Fe Community Center / Helen Woodword Animal Center **Red Bluff** Chamber of Commerce / Red Bluff Round-up / Sober Graduation, Red Bluff H.S. **Redding** American Cancer Society / American Heart Assn. / Boy Scouts of America / Chamber of Commerce, 2000 Business of the Year / City Designated Driver Program / City of Redding Jr. Golf / East Redding Little League / Elk's / Enterprise H.S. Boosters Club / Every 15 Minutes / Fiesta for Schools / Intermountain Jr. Rodeo / Jazz Festival / Kool April Nites / Leadership Redding / Lions Club / MS Walkathon / Air Show / Redding Christian School Boosters / Redding Museum of Arts and History / Redding Rodeo / Rotary / Redding Sunset Rotary / Redding Women's Refuge / Redding Youth Baseball / Redding Youth Soccer / Salvation Army / Shasta College Sports / Shasta Family YMCA / Shasta H.S. Boosters Club / Shasta Jr. Livestock Auction / Sober Graduation: Anderson H.S., Corning H.S., Central Valley H.S., Enterprise H.S., Foothill H.S., Shasta H.S., Trinity H.S., West Valley H.S., Willow H.S. / St. Joseph's School Fundraiser / St. Jude's / Trade Club of Redding / United Cerebral Palsy / United Way / West ... **Redwood** ... Redley **Riverdale** Riverdale Lions Club **Riverside** Riverside Assn. Riverside University of Riverside Scholarship Fund **Rocklin** Del Oro H.S. Grad Night / Little League / Youth Soccer League **Roseville** CA Breeze – girl's softball / Chamber of Commerce / Silverado Middle School PTA / Woodcreek H.S. Boosters **Rohnert Park** Sonoma County Crushers **Sacramento** AAU Basketball – Sac Rebels / Air Force Assn. / American Lung Assn. / Asian Pacific Rim Foundation / Asian Peace Officers Assn. / Big Brothers/Big Sisters / CA Peace Officers / Chamber of Commerce: Asian, Black, Hispanic, North Sacramento / Children's Receiving Home / CSUS Athletics / DMV Holiday Project for the Homeless / Downtown Partnership / Ducks Unlimited / Easter Seals / Eastside Charter Girls Basketball / Eppie's Great Race / Every Fifteen Minutes Program / Families First / Feast for the Street / Festival de La Familia / Hispanic Chamber / Jim Rockwell Project: Luther Burbank H.S., Sacramento State University / Loaves and Fishes / Lupis Foundation / Make-A-Wish Foundation / Meals a la Car / Natomas T-Ball / Oak Park Summer Concert Series / Optimus All Star Football Game / River Oak Center for Children / Run for Humanity / Sacramento City Unified School District / Sacramento County Sheriff's Department / Sacramento Food Bank / Sacramento Heritage Festival / Sacramento Horsemen's Assn. / Sacramento Jazz Society / Sacramento Police Athletic League / Sacramento State University / Sacramento Traditional Jazz Foundation / Sacramento Tree Foundation / Sacramento 20/30 Club Fundraisers / Sacramento Urban League / Sacramento Valley Board of Trade / Safe Ride Program with Sacramento River Cats / Safe Streets / Salvation Army / Sammie's Concert Series / Society for the Blind / Stanford Home for Children / St. Charles Athletic Committee / St. Francis Home / St. Jude's Hospital / St. Patrick's Children's Home / Students On The Job Day / Sutter Medical Center / Urban League / Washington Neighborhood Center / WEAVE / WIND Teen Centers / Youth Football Clinics **San Andreas** Angels-Murphys Rotary / Chamber of Commerce / Department of Forestry / Ducks Unlimited / Jim Rockwell Project / Italian Benevolent Society **San Bernardino** American Heart Assn. / Blood Drive / Children's Fund / Leukemia Society Foundation / Multiple Sclerosis / President's Circle Children's Fund / San Bernardino County Employees Picnic / San Bernardino Olympic Community Fund / Think When You Drink / TIP's Training **San Diego** Adopted Children's Hospital / American Ireland Fund / American Liver Foundation / Asian Business Assn. / Becky's House / Boys and Girls Clubs / Boys Town National Alumni-Southern CA Chapter / CA Cabaret Assn. / CHP-Border Division / Chicano Federation of San Diego County, Inc. / Children's Hospital Auxiliary / Children's Hospital Foundation / City Event Staffing Services / Cystic Fibrosis Foundation / Family Health Centers -Spirit of the Barrio / Gaslamp Quarter Assn. / Gay Pride Festival / Girl Scouts / Harvest for the Hungry / Hillcrest Assn. City Fest / Japan Society of San Diego and Tijuana / Jim Rockwell Project : University of San Diego / Julie Weaver Scholarship Fund / Junior Seau Foundation / KSWB Cares for Kids Fund / Las Patronas / League of United Latin American Citizens / Leukemia & Lymphoma Society / MAAC Project / Make-A-Wish Foundation of San Diego, Inc. / Mama's Kitchen / Monarch H.S. Project / Multiple Sclerosis Society / Muscular Dystrophy Assn. / NACE, San Diego Chapter / National City Crisis Team / National Fish & Wildlife Foundation / National Multiple Sclerosis Society / Naval Officers' Spouses' Club of San Diego, Inc. / Navy Region Southwest/Morale, Welfare & Recreation / Navy Wives Clubs of America / Old Aztec Athletic Club / Old Mission Beach Athletic Club / Port of San Diego-Holiday Bowl / Responsible Hospitality Council / Safe Ride & TIPS Training Programs / San Diego 2000 Celebration / San Diego Armed Services / YMCA / San Diego County Hispanic Chamber of Commerce / San Diego County Sheriff's Dept. / San Diego Hospice / San Diego International Sports Council / San Diego Port Tenants Assn. / San Diego Professional Against Cancer / San Diego Regional Economic Development Corp. / San Diego State Alumni Assn. / San Diego Street Scene / San Diego Urban League / Scripps Foundation for Medicine and Science / Sidney Kimmel Cancer Center / Skill Centers of America / South Bay Darting Assn. / SIDS / O.C. in partnership with Di-Mond Jim's / Super Bowl 2003 Host Committee / THE CENTER San Diego County / The Storefront for Homeless Teenagers / Trauma Intervention Programs of San Diego County, Inc. / United Cerebral Palsy / US Coast Guard-Marine Safety Office San Diego / US Marine Corps/ MCAS Miramar **San Francisco** American Diabe... Archdiocese of San Francisco / Make-A-Wish Foundation **San Jose** Amdahl Read to Succeed / Bay Area Sports Hall of Fame... age Week Magazine / Bellarmic College... Boy Scouts of America / Chamber of Co... / City of San Jose New Realities Task ... Eastfield Children's Home / Emergency... ing Consortium / Hope Foundation ... Knight of Malta / KTEH Public TV / Linc... / Mayor's Blue Ribbon Giants Committ... tional Conference of Christians and Jews... Martin Luther King Essay Contest / O... Hospital Foundation Trustee / Parents ... Parents / Saint Joseph's Cathedral Res... Campaign / San Jose Arena Election Tas... / San Jose Medical Center / Rotary Clu... con Valley Charity Ball / Technology Mu... United Way / Urban League / YMCA **San...** American Cancer Society / Armed S... YMCA / BECA Latino Scholarship Foun... Boys and Girls Club of San Marcos / C... of Commerce / Children's Miracle Netwo... paign / Muscular Dystrophy Assn. / North... Food Bank / Palomar Community Colleg... Marcos Girl Scouts / T.E.R.I. Inc. / CSU... Marcos **San Pablo** Brookside Foundat... **Rafael** Chamber of Commerce / Rotar... Rafael Fire Dept. Commission **San Ram...** Rockwell Project: CA H.S., Parents Rap ... **Santa Clara** Jason Barber, Oxnard High ... Santa Clara High School / Santa Clara ... sity **Santa Barbara** Bill's Bus-Safe / San... bara Bowl Concert **Santa Cruz** Santa Cru... munity Foundation / Santa Cruz Policy F... Youth Access to Alcohol **Santa Fe Sprin...** / Chamber of Commerce / Destiny Sch... Fund / Optimist Club **Santa Margarita** C... Ski Club / Jim Rockwell Project: Atascade... / Safe Ride Program **Santa Rosa** Sonoma... Fair **Saratoga** West Valley College Devel... Board / West Valley Mission College F... tion Board **Selma** Raisin Festival Con... **Shaver Lake** Chamber of Commerce / ... Unlimited **Simi Valley** DARE sponsorship... & Girls Club / Toys for Kids / Dukes C... **Siskiyou County** 2000 National Fish and ... Fundraiser / Children's Miracle Network ... 15 Minutes-Siskiyou County Sheriffs ... Junior Livestock Assn. / National Child... Council / Siskiyou County Fair / Siskiy... torcycle Assn. / South Siskiyou Bowling ... Family to Family / Friends of the Sierra F... / Habitat for Humanity / Chamber of Con... / Elks Club / Vietnam Veterans of America... ter / Summerville H.S. Sober Graduation S... Sears Point Raceway **Stockton** Americ... betes Assn. / American Heart Assn. / Am... Red Cross / Associated Filipino Organi... Black Chamber of Commerce / Boy Sc... America / Business Council Inc. of San J... Co. / CA Wildlife Assn. / Central Valley ... American Chamber of Commerce / Cesar... Scholarship Assn. / Chamber of Comm... Child Abuse Council / Chinese Cultural S... COMA / Community Blind Center / Cou... the Spanish Speaking / Ducks Unlimite... Am Lions / Hispanics for Political Actio... man Services Agency / Kids on Track ... nese American Citizens League / Jim R... Project / Lao Khmu Assn. / Local Law E... ment Agencies / LULAC / Mary Grahan... Hall / Mexican-American Chamber of Com... / Mexican Heritage Center / NAACP / O... Club / Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation ... Joaquin County Designated Drivers Task... San Joaquin County Fair / San Joaquin ... Workforce Investment Board / Stockton A... gus Festival Board of Directors / Stockton... ing Assn. / Stockton Boy's & Girl's Club ... Rotary Club / United Cerebral Palsy / Unit... / UOP Athletic Assn. **Sylmar** Tony Ca... Foundation **Thornton** Chamber of Com... **Thousand Palms** Chamber of Commerce ... Chamber of Commerce / Sunrise Rotary T... Chamber of Commerce **Ukiah** Boys an... Club / Cancer Awareness Walk-a-thon / ... ber of Commerce / Designated Cab Rid... ons Club / Sons of Italy / Mendocino ... H.O.G. / Sober Graduation / Soroptimus... national / St. Mary's Mardi Gras / **Van Nu...** Valley Chamber of Commerce **Vista** C... Amparo / Chamber of Commerce / Kiwan... of Sunrise Vista / Vista Community Clinic... **nut Creek** Art On The Main / Cure Autis... Charity / Jim Rockwell Project: New Bridg... dation / TIPS Certification of Retailers / ... Cerebral Palsy / Walnut Festival **Watsonvi...** Rockwell Project: YMCA **Weed** Cham... Commerce / Citizens United / College ... Siskiyou Foundation / Rotary / Wee... Carnevale / Weed Union H.S. Golf Tourn... **Whittier** Boys & Girls Club / Presbyteria... *pital Foundation / Whittier Concerts in th...* / YMCA **Woodland** Chamber of Comm... Charro's Assn. **Yreka** Century Bike Race / ... / Elks / Girl Scouts / Rotary / Yreka High S... Sober Graduation / YMCA (A Partia...

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As the nation celebrates June Dairy Month, there is no better time to recognize California's dairy families for their commitment to the quality of life in our great state and their commitment to the health and well being of all Californians.

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california JOURNAL

June 2001
Volume XXXII, Number 6

Upfront
Maddox, Noel take aim

The Bottom Line
Waiting for The Great Train Wreck
By Susan Rasky

Talking Points
Milking energy; Mayor Willie

Southern Exposure
End of an era: L.A.'s John Ferraro
By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Rostrum
Readers write us

D.C. Perspective
Another earthquake insurance jolt
By Dara Wilkie

Transitions

By A.G. Block

This month marks an important first for *California Journal* — the opening of a regional news bureau; in this case, a Los Angeles bureau staffed by Associate Editor Noel Brinkerhoff. He joins Southern California-based contributing editors Lou Cannon and Sherry Bebitch Jeffe to give our readers enhanced coverage of a powerhouse economic and political region. The opening also coincides with what has become an annual summer tradition: a special edition dedicated to a crucial area of the state. This year, we focus on a piece of that Southern California powerhouse — Orange County. Finally this month, we bid a temporary *adieu* to Managing Editor Claudia Buck, who is taking a sabbatical to devote more time to her kids and to writing projects. We will greatly miss her steady hand and her first-rate editing but look forward to her byline on a myriad of important *CJ* stories.

The changing face

No longer rock-solid Republican, Orange County has undergone a dramatic demographic shift.
By Cynthia H. Craft

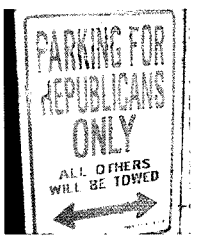
Surviving Santa Ana

In a hometown memoir, a writer recalls the Santa Ana of his childhood and its innovative melting pot.
By Scott Harris

GOP identity crisis

Its political dominance no longer assured, Orange County's aging Republican Party seeks a facelift.
By Noel Brinkerhoff

The dragon slayer



Since toppling conservative icon Bob Dornan, Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez is still making waves.
By Emelyn Rodriguez

Battle over El Toro

Converting this sprawling military base has become one of California's most protracted land use fights.
By William Fulton and Paul Shigley

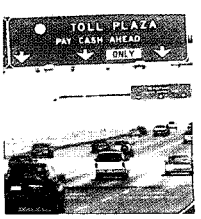
Silicon's sibling

The home of Disneyland and aerospace, Orange County is cultivating a new industry: high-tech.
By Marla Jo Fisher

For whom the road tolls

As California's toll road pioneer, Orange County has hit some roadblocks. Are toll roads folly or the future?
By Jenifer B. McKim

The 'other' Orange



Circa 1960, it was all about the "new," but returning home reveals a hometown's overlooked history.
By Kathleen Les

By Meg McAneny

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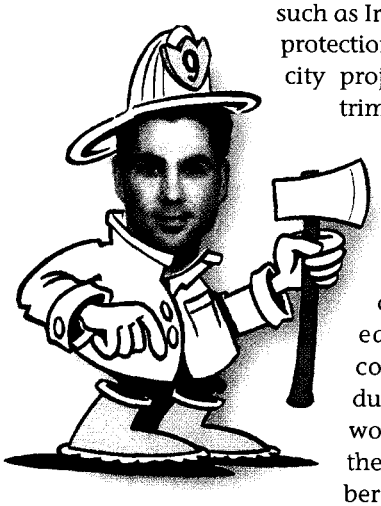
umbrage

Great Balls of Fire. When Assemblyman Ken Maddox (R-Garden Grove) first won election to the Legislature in 1998, he did so with the aid of Orange County's conservative pooh-bahs. In fact, his predecessor in the 68th Assembly District, former Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle, was instrumental in getting Maddox through a hotly contested, five-way GOP primary. Since then, however, Maddox has been anything but a lock-step right-winger, much to the chagrin of Orange County conservatives. First, Maddox got business folks all grumpy over his support of labor-backed legislation that restored overtime rules axed by the Wilson administration. The move may have been politically unpopular with GOP higher-ups, but it proved politically savvy because it boosted Maddox's support among the 68th's growing ethnic, blue-collar constituents. Lately, Maddox has county leaders, including many city officials, all riled up for going after the Orange County Fire Authority, which provides fire protection services for the county. According to Maddox, the fire authority has allowed certain cities, such as Irvine, to redirect fire protection monies for other city projects, such as tree trimming. So Maddox decided to go after the authority's ruling board, composed of 24 representatives appointed from each city in the county, and introduced legislation that would have reduced the board to five members elected by local voters. The proposal landed Maddox in hot water with city leaders who didn't want to lose their control over the board and GOP leaders who privately accused Maddox of selling out to the local firefighters' union, which backed Maddox's re-election last year. Subsequently, Maddox dropped his bill, but he hasn't given up the fight. Instead, Maddox convinced both the Orange County grand jury and the Assembly Local Government Committee to begin investigating his claims that the fire authority has been misusing its funds. Given the touchiness Orange County voters still feel over the misuse of their tax dollars that caused the county's bankruptcy in 1994, Maddox's accusations, if proven true, could wind up toasting the careers of some local officials.



Noel, no-el. With the Republican bench somewhat thin these days, the name Noel Irwin Hentschel sometimes crops up as a potential candidate for statewide office. Owner of a prosperous travel agency in Los Angeles, Hentschel made her first foray into elective politics in 1998 when she finished a respectable second to Senator Tim Leslie in the GOP primary for lieutenant governor. Since then, she toyed with the notion of running for U.S. Senate last year and has kept her name alive through varied political and civic involvements. Which makes her second electoral effort somewhat puzzling. She's the Republican candidate in a special election in the 32nd Congressional District—a decision she announced in March because it was a "real chance to make a difference." She won the GOP primary in April with 4,479 votes. Former state Senator Diane Watson won the Democratic primary with, uh, 27,600 votes. The two are now paired in a June runoff in a district where 70 percent of registered voters are Democrats and where Democrat Julian Dixon reigned until his death earlier this year. Given those numbers, it's hard to imagine what Hentschel meant by "a real chance."

Correction: Last month's timeline of former Secretary of State March Fong Eu's career incorrectly listed the year she was born. It should be 1922.

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Beware the coming of "The Great Train Wreck"

by Susan Rasky

Back when putting together the federal budget was an exercise in dividing pain rather than plenty, the wags in Congress would speak ominously of what they liked to call "The Great Train Wreck."

The expression referred not so much to budget-cutting battles and deficit consequences as it did to the inexorable movement of unrelated pieces of legislation, including the budget itself, toward a collision point somewhere in the near future.

In Washington, D.C., the collision is often preceded by a period of gridlock in which it becomes clear that resolution of any single issue depends upon resolution of all the others. When the combined force of the competing political and policy interests is greater than any faction's need to compromise, well, that's when you get a Great Train Wreck.

In Sacramento, the legislative environment that tends to precede a Great Train Wreck might best be called *torpor*. That's where the Legislature, for reasons perhaps beyond its control, has spent much of the past six months. Webster's Dictionary defines torpor as "extreme stagnation or lack of function," and lawmakers, particularly Democrats, likely would insist that torpor is more aptly applied to the governor's office at the moment.

Be that as it may, there are all the makings for a Great Train Wreck in Sacramento this summer.

Start with the budget, which, even without the unexpected cash drain for electric power purchases, was already being battered by plunging stock prices and an economic slowdown.

The need to trim spending to accommodate lower revenues can always spark combat in the Capitol but, this summer, arithmetic is not really the problem.

What a budget in need of serious revision really provides is a splendid opportunity for internecine warfare and partisan mischief. Might a frustrated Republican minority hold out for changes in education policy or perhaps that GOP holy grail, tax cuts? Might Democrats insist that proposals to expand health insurance to low-income families remain in the budget?

Or does budget obstruction by members in either party serve merely as bargaining leverage on this summer's other large legislative project — redistricting?

The politics here could not be more tricky, forcing members to choose between their personal political advantage and partisan loyalty. That choice is especially difficult in an era of term limits when Assembly and Senate members are much less concerned about boundaries for their current districts than the boundaries for the Senate or congressional seats they aspire to.

Democrats need only a handful of Republican votes to pass a redistricting plan with the required two-thirds margins, and the prospect of a wholesale partisan gerrymander now seems remote. The real issue is whether Democratic leaders, particularly in the Assembly, can figure out sufficient inducements to get members of their own party to vote for the redistricting plan.

What a budget in need of serious revision really provides is a splendid opportunity for internecine warfare and partisan mischief.

Democratic leaders are hoping to keep the budget bargaining and redistricting machinations on separate tracks. Logic suggests that a collision is the more likely outcome.

And then, of course, there is energy policy. As demonstrated by last month's delay in authorizing the immediate sale of bonds to repay the general fund for electricity purchases, Republicans are not above obstructing Democratic plans for handling the energy crisis.

With no obvious solution of their own to the state's predicament and little other leverage in Sacramento because their ranks are so small, gumming up the Democratic works may offer short-term advantages. It's not as if the GOP has a lot to lose at the ballot box in November 2002.

In theory, the record $13.4 billion bond sale will proceed in August and yield enough revenue to reimburse the general fund. But a slowing national economy, combined with the major dislocation in California's high-tech sector, combined with steep increases in energy prices for industrial users, may interfere with that relatively stable budget scenario.

It sure seems like the makings of a Great Train Wreck, especially since the lights will be out for most of the long, hot summer.

Contributing Editor Susan Rasky teaches journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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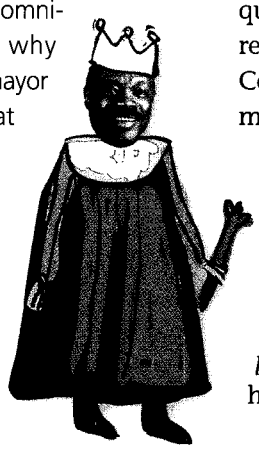
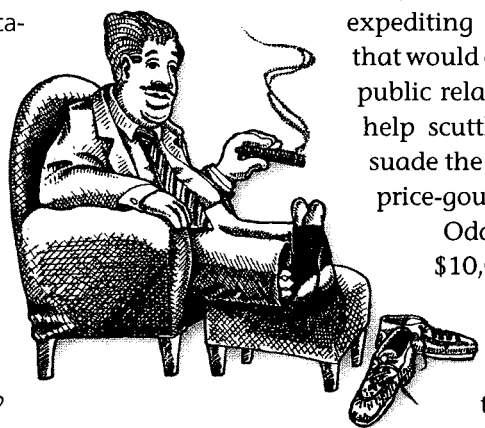
Media Watch:

That wily Willie Brown

Having known Willie Brown years ago as speaker of the Assembly, we're wondering what the big deal is in the *San Francisco Chronicle* these days. If Bagdad by the Bay didn't expect Willie to be his omniscient, omnipresent self, then why bother to crown him mayor in the first place? What could be better than a city hall run as smoothly as a palace, a municipality run as decisively as an empire, a patronage system run as cozily as extended family? Beats us.



Nevertheless, the *Chron* went all out last month with a five-part, exhaustive, Page One series detailing Brown's peccadillos, flaws and, mostly, his excesses. Hold onto your hats, folks, here comes the big revelation: FOWs, i.e. Friends of Willie, always come out on top — for city jobs, contracts, development deals and so on. Yeah? Any Capitol correspondent worth his salt could have written that story while observing Willie's watch in Sacramento. Trouble is, so few did.



Flashback:

Oh no, not this again!

That old, familiar feeling of *deja vu* hit us all over again in May upon hearing that Duke Energy Inc. offered a backroom deal to Governor Gray Davis in which Duke would extend its political support if Davis would call off the dogs investigating the company. Maybe it was just the alliterative quality of the words "secret" and "settlement" that sent us reeling back to the days of disclosure about former Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush's wrong-doings. Or maybe it was the whistle-blower way that Duke's deal was thrust into the public light.

It turns out that someone — we don't know who — didn't like the smell of Duke's proposal, leaking it to the *New York Times*. Davis' office confirmed that, yes indeed, a couple of private meetings had been held between top aides to Davis and Duke. But there was no talk of a *quid pro quo*, his office assured the press, and the governor himself wasn't even privy to the details.

In a document outlining the deal — called a "global settlement template" by Duke — it appears that the energy company thought it had all the details nailed down. Duke would let California skate on a portion of its electricity bill. In return, the document said, "Duke is committed to expediting high-level confidential discussions that would embrace the governor's political and public relations needs." Davis, in turn, was to help scuttle lawsuits against Duke and persuade the attorney general's office to call off a price-gouging probe.

Oddly enough, Duke, which donated $10,000 to Davis' campaign kitty in 2000, apparently thought it could tell the governor not only what to *do*, but what to *say*: "Governor will continue to indicate that the California crisis is an aberration due to flawed legislation of Governor Wilson, not a necessary consequence of deregulation, and will not advocate scrapping deregulation in wholesale power markets." Fancy that!

Quotables.....

"I'm done with secret deals. I'm done with secret compacts. Secret is a deodorant, and that's where it's going to end."

— State Senator Jackie Speier, criticizing Duke Energy Inc.'s confidential offer to Governor Gray Davis in which the company gives Davis political support and lowers California's electricity bill in exchange for "prompt suspension of state investigations, lowering of rhetoric and stay of state litigation."

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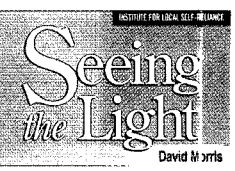
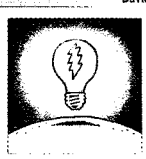
Excerpts:

From the bookshelf

"Seeing the Light
Regaining Control of Our Electricity System"
By David Morris
Institute for Local Self-Reliance

Forget trying to persuade David Morris, the author of "Seeing the Light," that bigger is better. He simply won't buy it. It stands to reason, then, that Morris, vice president of the Institute for Self-Reliance, sees California's energy debate as heading in the wrong direction.





Regaining Control of Our Electricity System

Rather than accept the premise that the future rests with a handful of utility giants, Morris promotes clusters of smaller, locally owned electricity generation and distribution centers. He believes the debate should start at Square One: Communities should begin by examining the kind of electricity system they want.

Morris argues that, in the immortal words of French writer Paul Valery, "The future isn't what it used to be." In other words, fossil fuels are no longer considered unlimited in supply, pollution as a byproduct of electricity generation is no longer routinely tolerated and low-cost, reliable electricity is no longer a given. With these premises rattled, Morris says, why not rethink placing all our proverbial eggs in the baskets of, say, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. or Southern California Edison? Renewable-fueled electricity is increasingly competitive and decentralized power plants are increasingly cheaper than central power plants.

Morris notes that, in today's turmoil, themes of yesteryear re-emerge. Around the turn of the 20th century, as electricity's magic held a nation spellbound, battles were waged over who should control and own the power plants and transmission lines — investors or customers? Should there be monopolies, or competition in the marketplace? Will electric companies be regulated by local, state or federal governments?

Morris concludes that, until very recently, today's debate has been focused too narrowly on the question of whether customers should have the right to choose electricity suppliers, the same as they now choose telephone-service providers. But choice alone is not a compelling enough guidepost, Morris says, and community members must see beyond their roles as consumers, and take responsibility for advocating energy systems that "enhance our roles as producers and citizens."

Compiled by CJ Editors

By the numbers

Auditioning GOP candidates

24% Voters who said they favor National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice in a ranking of potential GOP gubernatorial candidates.

18% Voters who said they favor actor Arnold Schwarzenegger in ranking of GOP gubernatorial candidates.

13% Voters who said they favor Secretary of State B. Jones in the ranking of GOP gubernatorial candidates.

6% Voters who said they favor wealthy businessman Bill Simon Jr. in the GOP gubernatorial ranking.

46% Voters who said they would favor Governor Gray Davis, a Democrat, over Condoleezza Rice.

35% Voters who said they would favor Rice over Davis.

46% Voters who said they would favor Davis over B. Jones.

32% Voters who said they favor Jones over Davis in a matchup for the governor's seat in 2002.

Source: Statewide poll (April 22-24) of 800 registered voters for the WISE list, a GOP women's activist group. Margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

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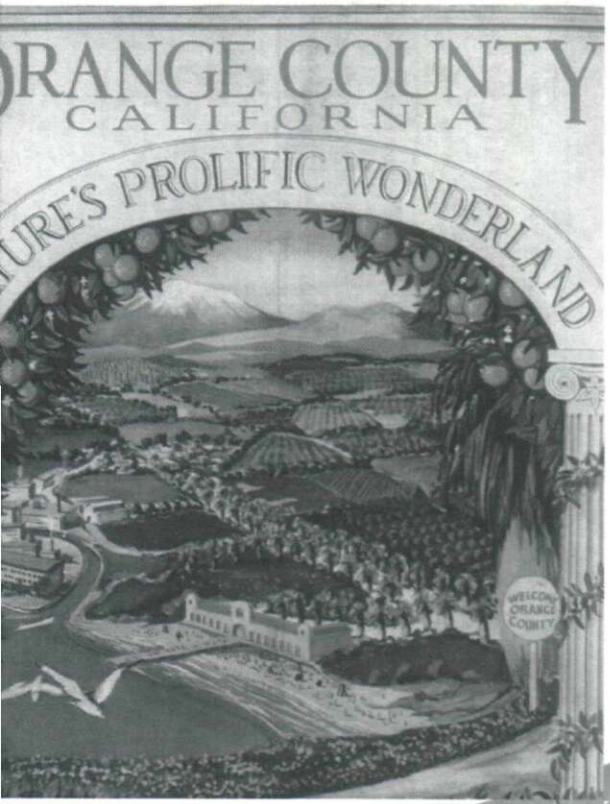
The Changing Face of



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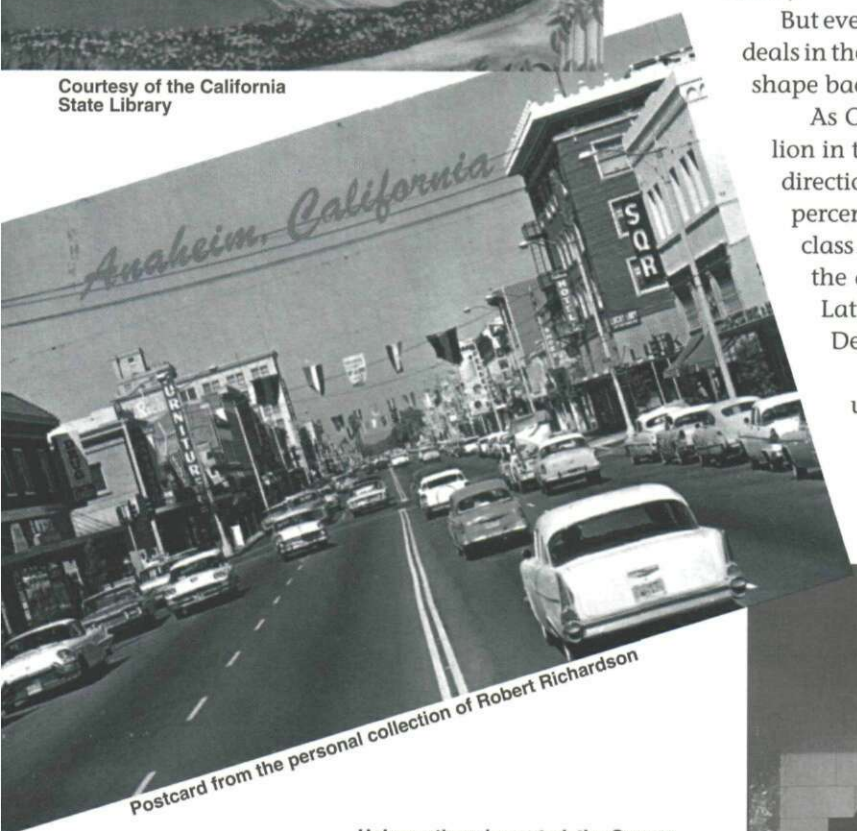


Postcard from the personal collection of Robert Richardson

Unless otherwise noted, the Orange County photos in this issue are provided courtesy of the Orange County Convention Bureau.

For decades, political strategists far and wide knew Orange County, California, for one thing and one thing only: It wasn't Disneyland. It wasn't even Richard Nixon. It was the county's reliably rock-solid, conservative, suburban, white, Republican vote — the kind of vote you could take to the bank, and which scores of candidates did.

From the swanky Gold Coast district in Newport Beach to the modest inland clusters of cookie-cutter homes, Orange County's famously lopsided GOP registration was long considered a given.

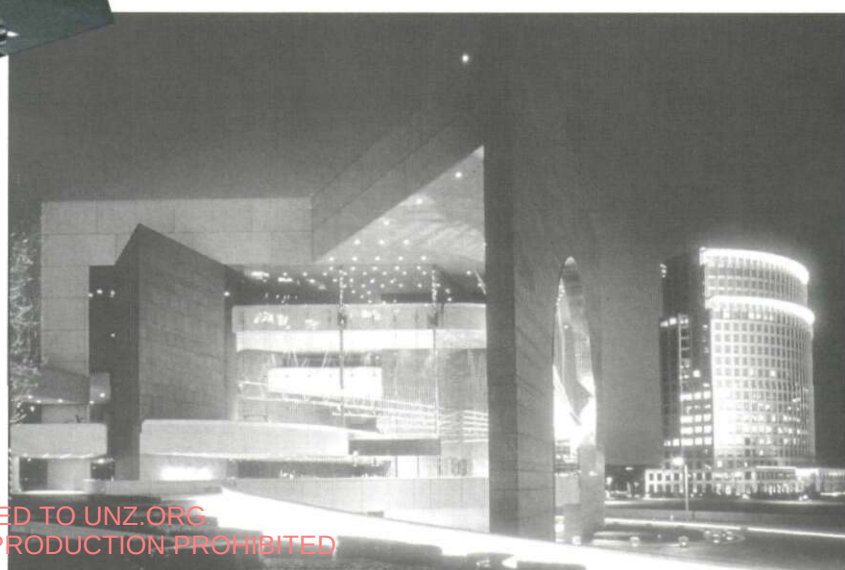
Time and again, the county elected strong, potent conservatives to the state Legislature and United States Congress. Witness U.S. Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach), former Congressman Bob Dornan (R-Garden Grove) and onetime Assemblyman Gil Ferguson (R-Newport Beach), an ultraconservative proud to be part of the GOP Assembly bloc calling themselves the "cavemen."

Some officeholders rode the virility of the hometown vote all the way to positions of power and prominence. Just think: Two of the three Republican Assembly speakers in the 1990s were Orange County-launched — Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) and Doris Allen (R-Cypress). Ditto in the state Senate. There, two of the past three GOP minority leaders hailed from Orange County — Ross Johnson (R-Irvine) and Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove).

But even as these politicians were wielding influence and cutting deals in the halls of legislative government, a sea change was taking shape back home.

As Orange County's population grew by 400,000 to 2.8 million in the 1990s, its Republican registration turned in the other direction, dropping 6 percentage points, from 55 percent to 49 percent. The decrease was rooted in the departure of middle-class Anglos, who moved away after losing aerospace jobs, and the arrival of a larger wave of lower-income immigrants — Latinos and Asians — many of them eagerly wooed by Democrats.

Soon enough, in 1996, the inevitable occurred: An upset. In the 46th Congressional District, political upstart Loretta Sanchez, a Democrat with no prior elective experience, toppled veteran firebrand Dornan.



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Orange County

That watershed election not only served to alert Republicans to the budding strength of Democrats on their turf, it also ushered in a new era of vulnerability for conservatives within the party. Having failed to sell moderates on a hard-line Christian, anti-abortion agenda, the right wing found itself defending its territory against mainstream insurgents.

The shifting winds in Orange County are among the stories we cover in this, the most recent installment in our series of special regional issues. As *CJ* Associate Editor Noel Brinkerhoff reports (see page 22), Orange County's GOP may find a new direction in moderates such as Republican activist and Garden Grove City Councilman Van Tran, a 36-year-old Vietnamese immigrant. Local GOP leaders are talking Tran up as a potential candidate for higher office.

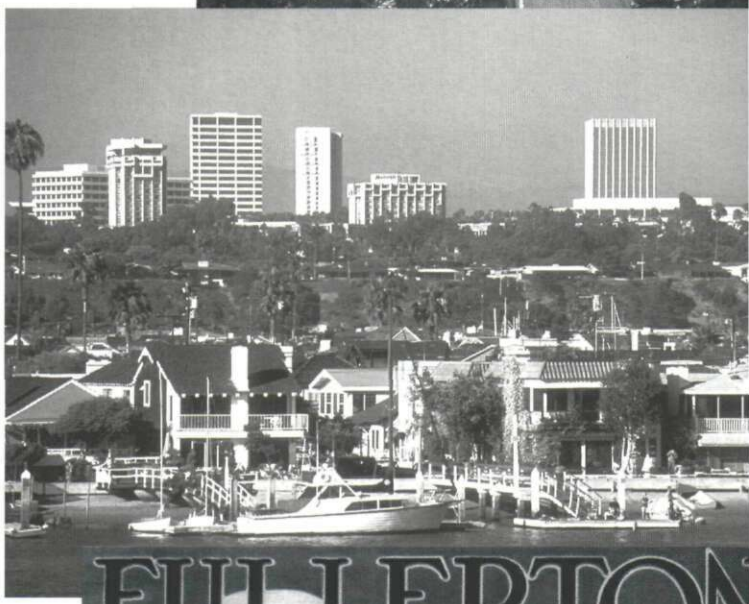
Even as they make inroads in the county's "Little Saigon," Republicans would do well to try to understand what they are up against in Sanchez. *CJ* Senior Editor Emelyn Rodriguez writes in a profile that Sanchez has earned the nickname "dragon slayer" and is "no shrinking violet." (See page 28)

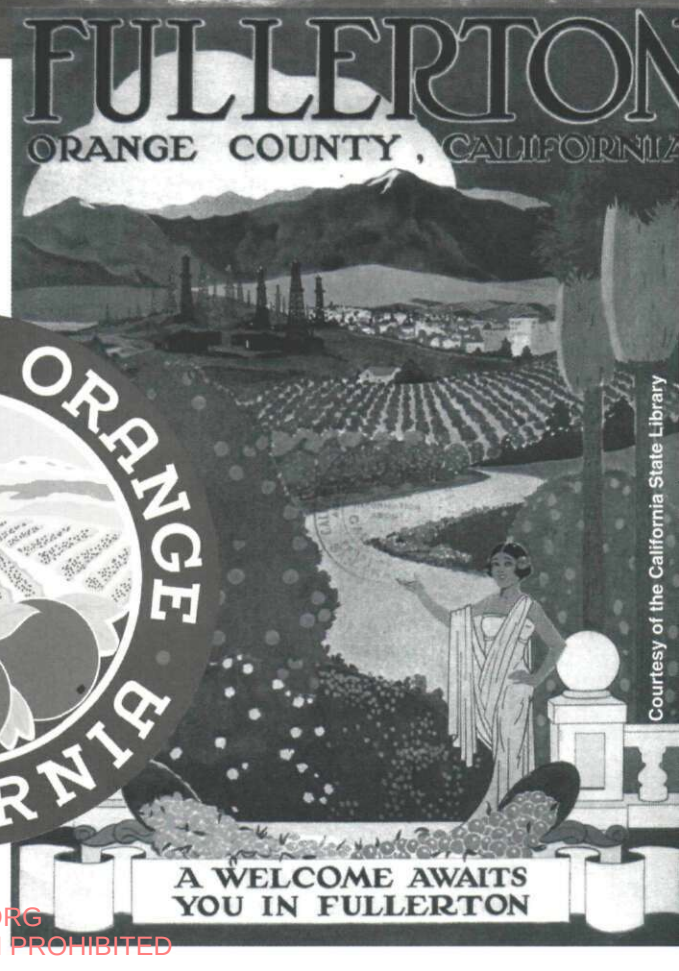
In addition, this edition reveals an array of Orange County issues needing attention, regardless of which political party ends up dominating. Transportation woes and traffic gridlock led to one novel solution in Orange County — the pioneering use of privatization of freeways and toll roads (see page 46). What to do with highly coveted land beneath the former El Toro Marine Corps base is another heated issue (see page 34) currently captivating and dividing the county. As well, we explore new directions for Orange County's economy as high-tech enterprises take hold and expand. (See page 40)

We also offer remembrances of Orange County's past. Associate Editor Kathleen Les details her journey down Memory Lane and her revelations in discovering the singular value of Orange County's historical buildings.

Kicking off our package of articles is writer Scott Harris, a native Santa Anan, who describes what it was like growing up in multicultural Orange County and why he wouldn't trade the experience for any other. We hope you enjoy our coverage of one of California's most fascinating counties.

— Cynthia H. Craft, Editor





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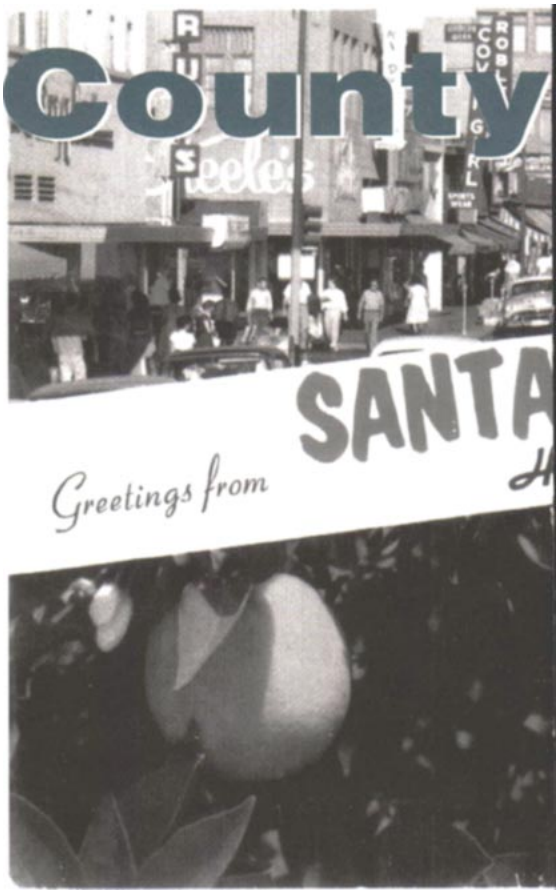
My Orange County

Rumor had it that behind the Orange Curtain, life was white, wealthy and, for Republicans, the Happiest Place on Earth. But in Santa Ana, another reality began emerging some time ago — a reality that embraced cultural and political diversity.



1950s-era postcard from the collection of Robert Richard

By Scott Harris

I'm standing at the counter in a bowling alley in Birmingham, Alabama, out to roll a few frames with my cousin. A young man fetches a pair of size 11s and takes my driver's license to make sure I won't keep the shoes. He does a double take.

"You live in LA? I grew up in Fullerton." Sounds homesick.

"Oh, I went to Fullerton," I say, meaning the Cal State. "I grew up in Santa Ana."

"And you survived!"

I smile, but I really don't appreciate the crack at the expense of my hometown. Then again, I understand perfectly.

This was just a few years ago, and certainly it was odd to hear an only-in-Orange County quip in my mother's sweet home Alabama. Ever since my days at Santa Ana High School in the early '70s, a little hotbed of ethnic tension, I've understood that my hometown — not all, but much of it — was Orange County's wrong-side-of-the-tracks. It really wasn't as scary as its image, but it had a diverse demographic stew that translated into poverty, gangs and crime.

Since then, immigration has made Santa Ana much larger — now with about 337,000 people — and ever more Latino, with Spanish spoken in more than half of its households. It has also added a sizable Asian (especially Vietnamese) community. Meanwhile, the city has retained its small but firmly established African American community (unique among OC cities), plus tens of thousands of whites who never took flight.

To complete the picture, I should note that Santa Ana is not without its well-to-do. I could show you whole scores of homes that, if moved to L.A.'s Westside or San Jose, would sell easily for more than $1 million, some much more. (I could also point out a tacky faux antebellum mansion; its name on the gate: *Tara.)*

But affluence isn't the Santa Ana story. To many outsiders, and some insiders, there is a forbidding foreignness about the place. At a poker game not long ago,

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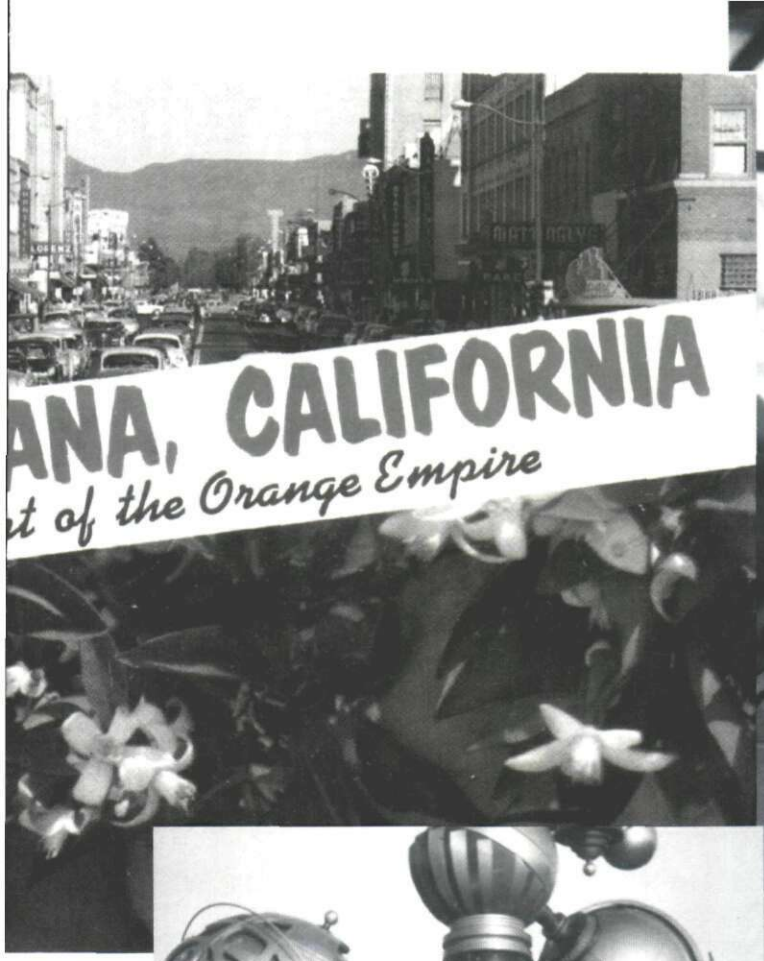

The original Tommorrowland at the Happiest Place on Earth.

Enjoying Vietnamese cuisine at a "Little Saigon" restaurant, one of many businesses catering to the growing Asian community.

a high school buddy told me with dismay how Spanish-speaking neighbors were growing corn and keeping chickens; one woman came to his door selling eggs.

Such change can be disquieting. And so a troubled reputation persists. And yet, you can look it up: Santa Ana is one of the safest cities of its size nationwide – safer than such places as Colorado Springs, Colorado, and Omaha, Nebraska. Crime plummeted in the 1990s so dramatically that for 1999 the FBI ranked Santa Ana with the second-lowest major-crime rate among cities with a population between 250,000 and 500,000. Who knew? (It pains me to note that Anaheim edged out Santa Ana for first place.)

So Santa Ana, it seems, has gotten a bad rap in recent years. And if you accept the adage that there's really no such thing as bad publicity, then Santa Ana's hurting in another way. Traveling near and far over the years, I have come to the opinion that Santa Ana hasn't made much of an impression beyond Orange County. It's just a local kind of place, humbly hovering beneath the radar of popular culture. Just compare it to a few other sainted California cites: Santa Monica, Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz all have their distinctive identities and claims to fame. Santa Ana is much larger and has an extraordinary story to tell, yet it might as well be Santa Anonymous. (Why, until now, even the *California Journal* — the *California Journal!* — gave my hometown no respect, no respect at all, omitting it

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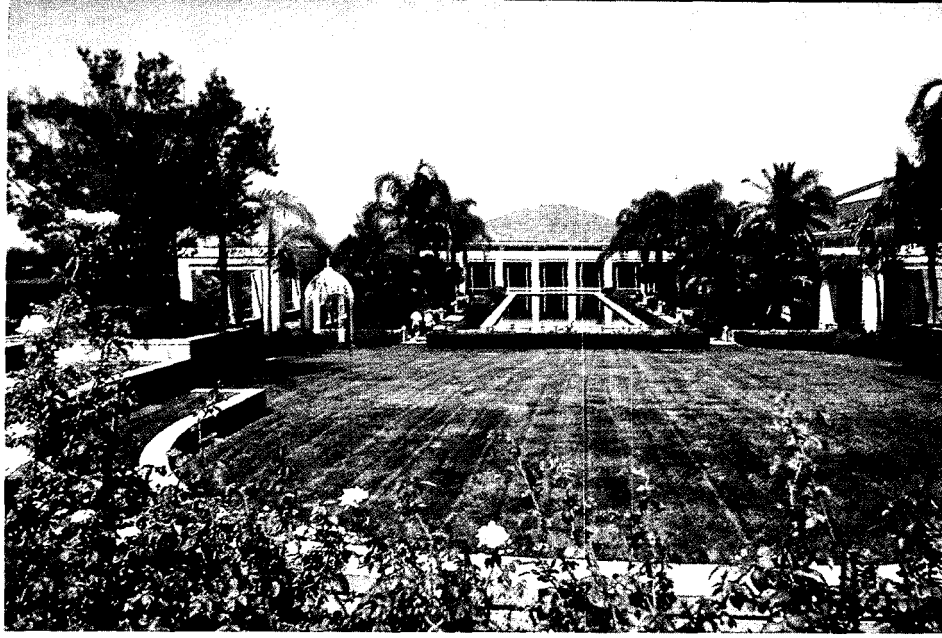
recently from its write-up of the state's 10 largest cities. For the record, it's No. 9, between Long Beach and Anaheim.)

But fame is a funny thing, for while Orange County's most populous city and county seat is overlooked, Orange County itself has quite a rep. The vast Southern California megalopolis just blobs together, yet America understands that life behind the Orange Curtain is very different from sprawling, brawling L.A. The stereotype is now hoary and frayed, but the OC of legend was indeed a bastion of white suburban Republicanism, a political culture influenced by a large, patriotic military presence and the proudly, pushily libertarian *Orange County* (nee *Santa Ana*) *Register.* I know of what I speak, both as the son of a career Marine and as someone who twice toiled for the *Register,* first tossing papers from a bicycle and later at a typewriter, promoting the *Registerian* notion there are no "public schools" in America, only "tax-supported schools." This was the Orange County who elected Congressman John Schmitz, so right-wing that he made one of his successors, Bob Dornan, seem a paragon of tolerance.

Certainly much has changed; there's no confusing Loretta Sanchez for B-1 Bob.

Yet there's still only one place in America where a visitor can fly into an airport named in honor of late Newport Beach resident and ersatz war hero John Wayne, spend a couple days at the original Happiest Place on Earth, and tuck in a side trip out to Richard Nixon's birthplace and grave. This native son has no qualms accepting Disney, the Duke and Nixon as defining icons in Orange County's history. The county styled itself as a wholesome, family-oriented, flag-waving sort of place, built on some innocent fakery and a certain amount of grandstanding.

Yet my Orange County has always been much more than that, because first and foremost my OC was and is Santa Ana. Although I live in San Jose now, the personal connection remains deep. My birth was still four years away when my parents, in 1952, signed the mortgage on one of the new cookie-cutter homes on the north side of Santa Ana for about $14,000.



The expansive gardens of the Nixon Library and birthplace in Yorba Linda.

My widowed Mom still lives there. My sister and brother are in neighboring towns. As it happens, my wife did most of her growing up in south Santa Ana, albeit in a very different context, having arrived at age 6 as a refugee from Vietnam. Her parents, brothers and sisters recently moved to Irvine. We visit home often.

■ ■ ■

Growing up, it took some years for me to understand that my hometown contained Orange County's facsimile of an inner city. My neighborhood and elementary school were almost all white — save for my classmate Frank Armendariz. His mother and siblings stayed in Mexico while he'd come up with his father. I visited their tiny dark apartment once in a neighborhood I would later learn was called Logan Barrio. I was stunned to find no bedroom and no beds. His father slept on a sofa, Frank on a quilt on the floor.

Frances E. Willard Junior High broadened my world and, memorably, so did a Pop Warner-style football team

A timeline of Orange County's growth

1889
Frustrated south Los Angeles County residents vote by a 5-1 margin to break away and form Orange County.

Orange County's first census yields a population of 13,589.
1890

1913
Richard Milhous Nixon, the future 37th U.S. president, is born in Yorba Linda.

The county's population nearly doubles after trains make commuting to L.A. jobs easier.
1919-1924

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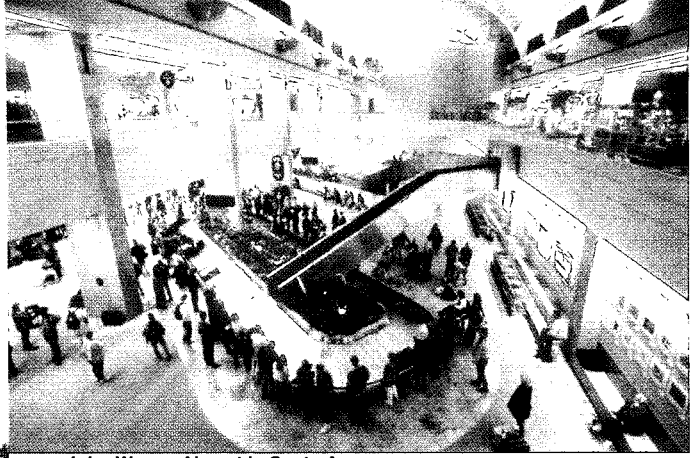
e Rev. Robert Schuller's C ystal Cathedral



John Wayne Airport in Santa Ana

that practiced on the south side of town, drawing a rich racial mix. Once we caravaned down to San Clemente for a game and marched onto the playing field, a bunch of 7th and 8th graders feeling tough in our red jerseys and shoulder pads. A black teammate's brother trailed behind, then joined us laughing out loud, mimicking the intimidated voice he'd overheard: "Gosh! Half their team are Negroes!" We already had those surfer boys whipped.

My high school yearbook reveals a variety of social divides. Institutions like student government, the yearbook and the school paper (my passion) were still led by mostly white, college-bound types. The rising Chicano movement had made the MECHA club large, but the new immigrants from south of the border stuck to their English-as-a-Second-Language circles. There was also a Black Student Union. Not pictured are less official groups, such as the F Troop street gang, which mostly operated off campus.

It made for exciting newspapering. *The Register* followed our story about bullies extorting lunch money. Perhaps my favorite headline came after a Chicano adviser arranged for me to interview a gang leader after a spate of bloodshed. The headline was: "F Troop Prez: 'I'm Just Trying to Stop the Killing.'"

One spring day ethnic tensions erupted into a series of brawls. Police were summoned, community meetings were held. Our principal talked about "springtime and the exuberance of youth." But she also ordered creation of a student committee to air grievances. As I recall it, plans for a 15-student committee expanded to 20 after the ESL director did some lobbying. And so the Committee of 20, as it came to be known, consisted of five white students, five black students, five Chicanos and five ESL students. Naturally the whites and blacks complained. Sweet home Santa Ana.

A few years ago, driving down my old street, I was surprised to see a sprouting of yard signs bearing a familiar name: "Brett Franklin for City Council." Sure enough, it was the brother of an old friend.

When the *California Journal* asked me to contribute to its Orange County report, I gave Brett a call, our first conversation in about 20 years.

Brett Franklin is, as he puts it, a *gringo* who, unlike most white Santa Anans who came of age in the '60s, '70s and '80s, decided he'd rather build a life in his hometown than elsewhere.

"The main turning point for us," he told me, "was at some point in fairly recent history, in the last 10 or 15 years, the residents realized we're not a suburb of L.A., and that we'll never be like Villa Park or Balboa Island. We're an urban city. And it's really an exciting thing. It's kind of freeing to realize that and, to look at what we do have. We have these historic buildings and historic downtown. We have this diversity."

The tale he told about Santa Ana's transformation in the 1990s was so rosy that at first I thought it was just typical local-yokel boosterism. But the more I checked into it, the more I found he was right.

And what I learned, I must confess, struck me as a revelation.

1930
County population climbs to 118,674, a nearly eightfold increase in 40 years.

About 90,000 WWII cadets train at Santa Ana Army Base. After the war, many return with their families.

1942-1943

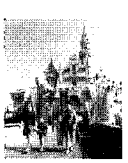
1943
El Toro Marine base opens, expanding the county's military community.

1945
School segregation is outlawed after a petition is filed by Orange County residents of Mexican descent.

Census data pegs county population at 216,224.

1950

1955
Disneyland opens. By 1999, the theme park employs 8,500 people.



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Santa Ana is a success story. It has many of the problems one would expect in a crowded American city where many people are poor immigrants with a faint grasp of English. Yet, by capitalizing on its strengths, Santa Ana has with little fanfare established itself as a progressive model by which other American cities facing such challenges should be judged. It has done this by coming to terms with itself and turning its problems into opportunities. Much of the good flowed from one enlightened civic decision in the early 1990s. Perhaps you saw the recent headlines about Oakland's bold new initiative to cope with its multicultural population. Bay Area TV gave it big play. The Oakland City Council adopted an ordinance mandating that only the bilingual be hired for jobs that involve direct interaction with the public.

Santa Ana has with little fanfare established itself as a progressive model [...] by coming to terms with itself and turning its problems into opportunities.

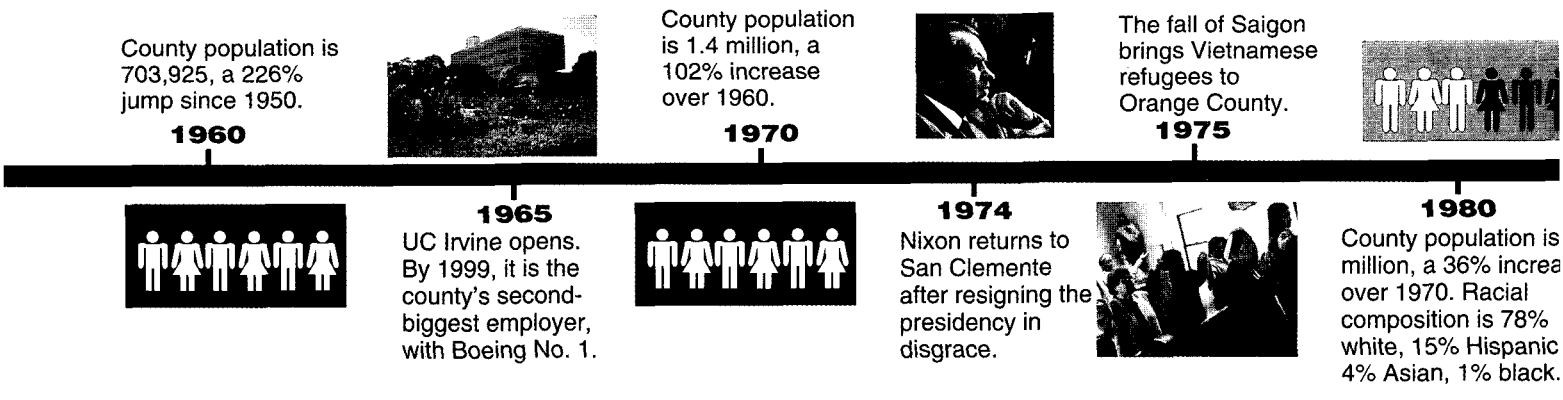
Down in Santa Ana, city officials shrugged. That has been Santa Ana's hiring policy since the early '90s. There was no ordinance, simply an administrative edict. It was not done in the name of identity politics, and it created little controversy. It was done, City Manager Dave Ream says, simply because so much time was being wasted whenever police officers, firefighters, paramedics or building inspectors needed a translator. "We just realized we could deliver a lot of service with less people if we did it with a bilingual capacity," says Ream, now in his 15th year as city manager and 23rd in the city's administration.

Santa Ana, in short, realized that a large bilingual talent pool was an asset to be exploited. "We've been ahead of the curve on that," says the much-admired Mayor Miguel Pulido, a member of the City Council since 1986 and for several years Santa Ana's dominant political leader.

The Harris home (above) was typical of the new suburbs of the 1950s. (Below) The author in his suburban backyard in 1962.

The employees' unions were cooperative, Ream says, because the policy only affected new hires, didn't jeopardize promotions and made everybody's job easier. "We were lucky. Nobody felt threatened," says Ream. "It was just hugely effective. We have such a large labor pool, we didn't have to decrease the quality of our applicants to get it done."

This one decision has spread its benefits throughout a city that had grown so large so fast. The bilingual push made its biggest impact in the police force. When the policy was adopted, 18 percent of officers were bilingual. Today, more than 60 percent are. This greatly complemented the city's aggressive community-oriented policing strategy. A glance at a bar graph of Santa Ana's FBI Crime Index in the '90s — an accounting of homicide, forcible rape, aggra-


County population is 703,925, a 226% jump since 1950.
1960
1965
UC Irvine opens. By 1999, it is the county's second-biggest employer, with Boeing No. 1.
County population is 1.4 million, a 102% increase over 1960.
1970
1974
Nixon returns to San Clemente after resigning the presidency in disgrace.
The fall of Saigon brings Vietnamese refugees to Orange County.
1975
1980
County population is million, a 36% increa over 1970. Racial composition is 78% white, 15% Hispanic 4% Asian, 1% black.

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n art fair in Laguna Beach -- another ce of Orange County.

vated assault, burglary, car theft, and larceny-theft — resembles a steadily descending staircase. In a nine-year span, Santa Ana's crime rate per 1,000 population was more than halved, from 76.43 to 35.45.

True, the national crime rate fell as well, though not as dramatically. But more remarkable still is the fact that Santa Ana achieved such progress as one of the nation's youngest cities, with its residents having a median age of 26. Most crimes are committed by teenagers and young adults; one out of five Santa Ana residents are in the 16-24 age group.

And consider, also, the efficiency of its government. Librarians, park-and-rec employees, graffiti cleanup crew and others have a role in maintaining order. *Governing Magazine* recently found that, among the nation's largest 100 cities, Santa Ana had the second-lowest number of employees per capita, behind only Fremont, California. "We have the same workforce we had in the '80s and we're serving a city that's 50 percent larger," Ream says.

In the mid-90s, Santa Ana adopted a charter change that serves to reflect the city's diversity and minimizes turf concerns. The mayor and six council members are all elected citywide, with each council member representing a geographic ward.

All the good news should be judged against daunting conditions. In much of Santa Ana, poor families double up in homes to make the rent. There are 4.2 persons per household, compared to a California average of 2.86. The school district built 13 new campuses in the '90s, yet, when I walked by an old elementary school, the playground was covered with portable classrooms. One city official told me Santa Ana has more square footage in its portables than Irvine has in its permanent classrooms.

The census found that Santa Ana's population grew more than 40 percent from 1980 to 1990, but Pulido and others suspect much of that growth actually reflects a severe undercount in 1980, which shortchanged the city in federal aid. Those concerns inspired an aggressive campaign to assure an accurate count in 1990 and 2000 by involving churches and community groups. Pulido says this led to another Santa Ana superlative: Census officials told him that the city had the nation's highest census response rate last year.

Santa Ana has so many census tracts under the poverty level that it qualified to apply for a Federal Empowerment Grant to promote economic development. "The bad news is we qualified. The good news is we got it," a council aide said. The competitive grant provides $10 million a year for 10 years.

One of the most striking symbols of the city's transformation and its comfort with itself came earlier this year when Mexico President Vicente Fox, U.S. Secretary of Commerce Donald Evans and Governor Gray Davis gathered in downtown Santa Ana to open the first U.S.-Mexico International Trade Center. Again, it was an example of Santa Ana leaders recognizing that residents' close ties to Mexico present an opportunity to promote international commerce. Federal and state trade offices are expected to open in the center soon, and Pulido envisions other countries coming as well. City officials envision the center as a place where, say, a Hong Kong company could forge ties with American and Mexican markets.

"I characterize it as typical of the new Santa Ana, the futuristic-looking Santa Ana," Pulido told me in a brief conversation.

The Santa Ana I remember never had such ambitions, and I'm told Mayor Pulido deserves much of the credit. Like L.A.'s Richard Riordan, he acts like a big-city mayor, personally shaping economic goals. L.A. or San Diego may have seemed an obvious choice for the trade center, but Pulido personally lobbied Fox. "Miguel was pushing, pushing, pushing on both sides of the border," Councilman Franklin says. Pulido has been instrumental in achieving other civic coups. The impressive Ronald Reagan Federal Courthouse has helped rejuvenate the civic center. The Discovery Science Center, I'm told, was headed for Irvine before it was persuaded to locate where the kids are. Pulido

A home purchased in 1980 for $120,000 will be worth $300,000 in just eight years.

1980

1990

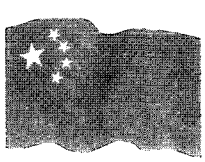
County population is 2.4 million, a 25% increase over 1980. Racial composition is 64% white, 23% Hispanic, 9% Asian, 2% black.

Orange County files for bankruptcy after its $2 billion investment portfolio is mismanaged. Treasurer Robert Citron resigns, serves a year in prison.

1994

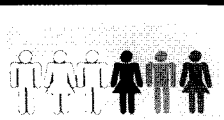
1999

Protests erupt in Little Saigon over display of a Communist flag, revealing the Vietnamese community as a cohesive force.



With a population of 2.8 million, Orange County is California's third-largest. Racial composition is 51% white, 31% Hispanic, 13% Asian, 2% black.

2000



Compiled by researcher Katherine Ming
Sources: Secretary of State's office, Center for Demographic Research, *Los Angeles Times.*

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Santa Ana City Councilman Brett Franklin (above) and Miguel Pulido, Santa Ana mayor

Brett Franklin, who speaks Spanish fluently, describes Pulido as "almost a Renaissance leader" with dazzling diplomatic skills, including the ability to instantly translate the subtlest of nuance between English and Spanish.

has also been negotiating with UC Irvine and CSU Fullerton on the creation of a digital animation center in downtown Santa Ana to complement a burgeoning arts community that includes an Artists' Village development and the Orange County Performing Arts High School.

While pursuing such lofty initiatives, Pulido's office fields a couple dozen calls a day about potholes that need filling, trees that need trimming, barking dogs that need shutting up.

■ ■ ■

Miguel Pulido seems almost ideally cast to lead Santa Ana. He was born in Mexico City and moved to Orange County at age 5, speaking only Spanish when he started kindergarten. An old *Los Angeles Times* profile left me thinking he was the Frank Armendariz of his mostly white grade school in Fullerton, though not as poor. I imagine a teenager developing the social graces that allow him to move easily between cultures. His family owned Ace Muffler in Santa Ana, and he started working there at age 13. His interest in his mother's heritage prompted him to learn French. He must have attended Cal State Fullerton about the same time I did, earning an engineering degree. He was working in solar engineering when the City of Santa Ana's redevelopment planners put Ace Muffler in their crosshairs.

He fought City Hall and won. The redevelopment project went up around the muffler shop, and Pulido decided to run for office.

"He's been very good for the city," says Ream, who first encountered Pulido in the Ace Muffler battle. "He's very good with the business community." Pulido, another city staffer says, is equally adept at both the conception of an idea and its implementation.

Franklin, who speaks Spanish fluently, describes Pulido as "almost a Renaissance leader" with dazzling diplomatic skills, including the ability to instantly translate the subtlest of nuance between English and Spanish. Franklin, a Republican, also credits Pulido, a Democrat, for "keeping partisan politics out of the city. It's always Santa Ana first."

Press accounts describe how Pulido has navigated the tricky identity politics of Santa Ana, sometimes angering Latino activists who found him lacking in the *la raza* department. Occasionally those old Santa Ana tensions have bubbled up in City Hall. There was the time when Councilman Ted Moreno, now infamous, gave Franklin a "kind of hockey check" into a wall in the council chambers, as Franklin remembers it.

Perhaps one reason Santa Ana hasn't gotten its due in recent years was a headline-making scandal involving political shakedowns. A FBI sting put Moreno and a few cronies behind bars.

Pulido emerged stronger. He is now in his second term as mayor, having won an overwhelming re-election.

I was curious about Pulido's own perspective growing up in Orange County. I wondered how his experience compared to mine. Was he very conscious of racial and ethnic change? (Was my boyhood friend Frank?) "I wasn't focused on that at all as a kid," Pulido told me.

Our conversation was brief. The mayor seemed too busy to be reflective. Pulido never thought much about race and ethnicity, he said, until he joined the council in the mid-1980s and realized that the failings of the census had cost Santa Ana dearly. My quick impression is that he sees race and ethnicity more in practical terms of raw numbers — and what those numbers mean to the bottom line — than in terms of emotion and loyalties. And if you're the mayor of Santa Ana, where the numbers have grown so large so fast, that might be the best way to look at it. Numbers are numbers. People are people.

So now I know a lot more about Santa Ana than I once did. I remember how, as a kid, I thought Santa Ana must be a pretty important place, so important that it had a freeway named after it, and, better still, a hot dry wind. I always harbored a certain hometown pride. I've long felt that Santa Ana prepared me better for the larger world than a whiter, wealthier place would have.

And now, some 20 years and 400 miles from my hometown, I'm impressed all over again. It is a glimpse of our blended future. Call it a melting pot or a mosaic — the metaphors fall short. Santa Ana has become a place where the world comes together and looks beyond our differences. It so happens that Miguel Pulido's wife is white and Brett Franklin's wife is from Central America. And by the time this is published, this white guy from Santa Ana will have a son whose middle name is Minh.

Scott Harris, a former metro columnist for the Los Angeles Times, *is senior writer for the* Industry Standard. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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protection

Reducing teen birth rates in California begins with preventing the pregnancy from ever occurring. While abstinence is the best method for preventing teen pregnancy, we need to educate and protect the teens who are sexually active. Providing contraceptive access for teens that choose to have sex helps ensure healthy and successful futures for them. **We must support** the availability of information and contraception for sexually active teens. Teens that seek contraception or information about family planning services are trying to be responsible and make informed decisions. Denying contraception access to teens that choose to have sex is denying them their right to a healthy future.
What you can do: Support medically factual, sexuality education that gives information about abstinence, healthy relationships and contraceptives. Discuss the potential consequences of an unplanned pregnancy or sexually transmitted disease, as well as the benefits of contraception and how to get it if they choose to be sexually active. Make sure health services and family planning resources are available in your community to young people. Advocate for services that are free or low cost, confidential and administered by friendly, approachable staff that communicate clear, accurate messages about sexuality and contraception.

GET REAL
ABOUT TEEN PREGNANCY

Teen pregnancy is also an adult problem. Let's solve it together.

To learn more, visit our website at www.letsgetreal.org

The "Get Real About Teen Pregnancy" public education campaign is funded by a grant to Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide from The California Wellness Foundation.

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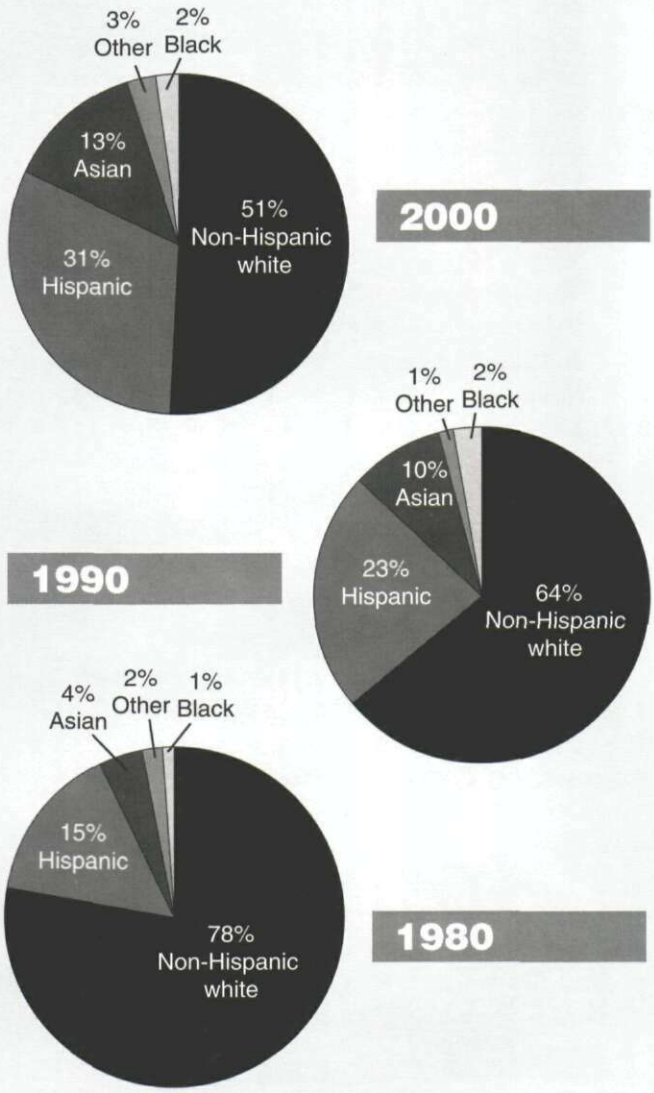
As Orange County grows, its

General statistics

1. Square miles: 798
2. Number of cities: 33
3. Largest city: Santa Ana 337,977
4. Smallest city: Villa Park 5,999
5. Number of housing units 966,086
6. Incorporated: 1889

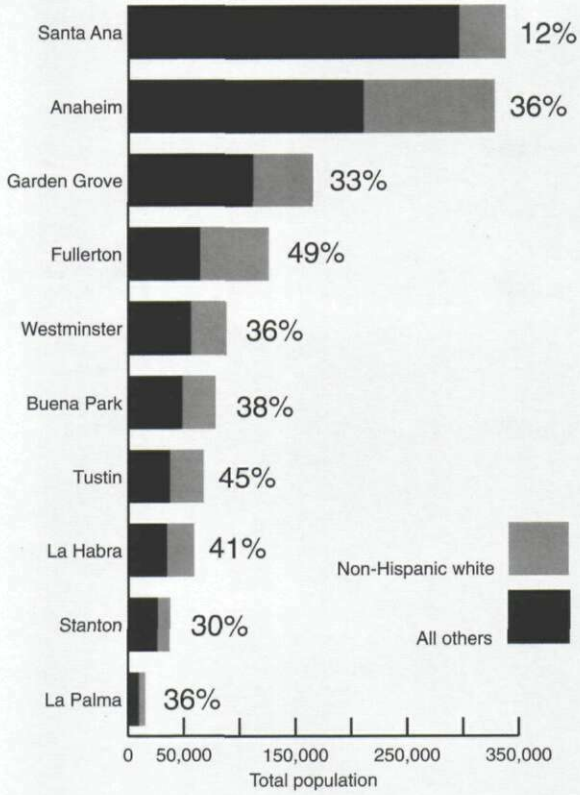
Ethnicity change

Since 1980 when its residents were overwhelmingly white, Orange County has undergone a dramatic shift; in the last 20 years, its Hispanic population has more than doubled.



White minority cities

Santa Ana, where just 12 percent of residents are white, is one of 10 Orange County cities with a white minority population.



Ethnic cluster

As whites flocked to more expensive new housing in south Orange County, ethnic majorities began to dominate in the county's older, northern cities.

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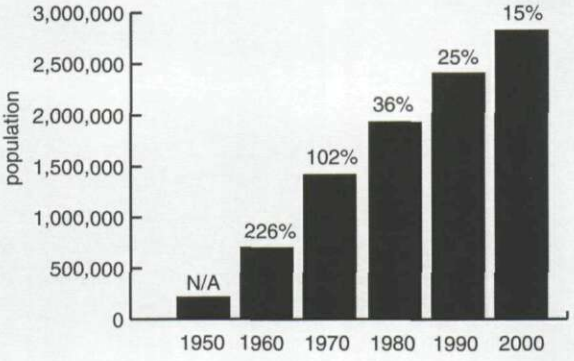
demographic fabric changes

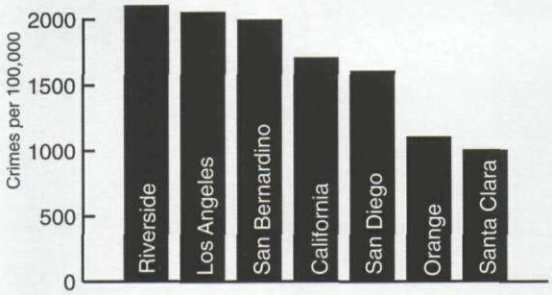
Historical growth

In 1950, the county's population was less than 250,000. Today nearly 3 million residents comprise California's third-largest county.



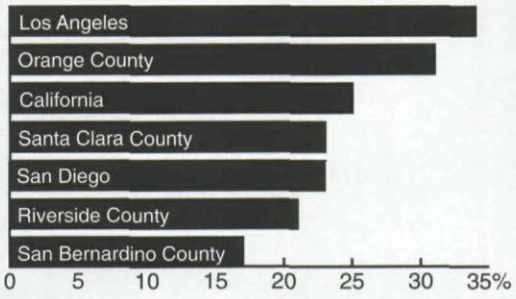
Crime rate

Despite fast-paced growth, the county's 1999 crime rate of 1,100 crimes per 100,000 residents is lower than other rapidly urbanizing counties and below the statewide average of 1,700.



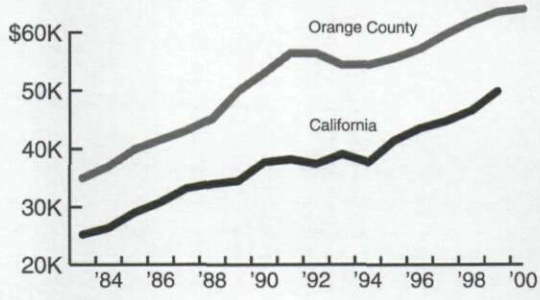
English learners

The influx of immigrants has created a high percentage of English-language learners, now 30 percent of the nearly 500,000 public school students countywide.



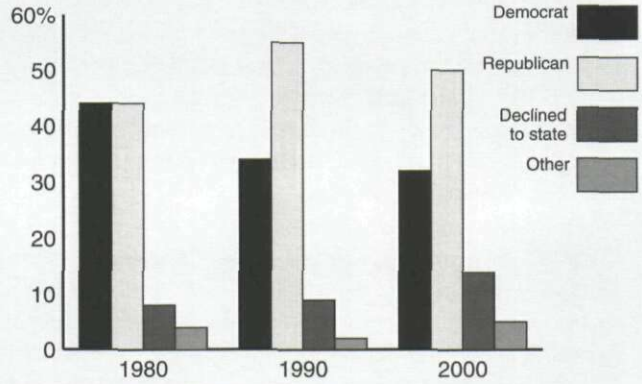
Median income

At $64,000, Orange County's median income is among the highest in the state, exceeding the California median of $49,800.



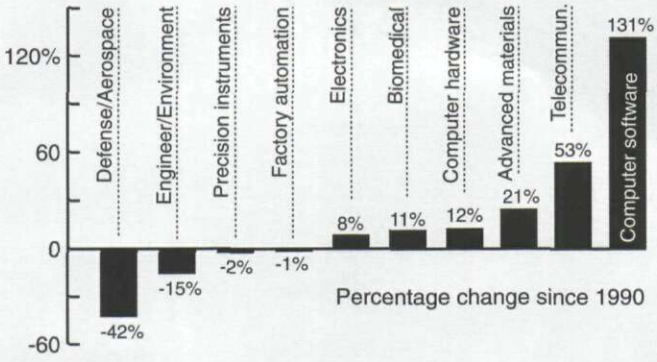
Voter shift

Long a Republican stronghold, Orange County's GOP registration peaked in 1990 but slipped in the last decade due to increasing ethnic residents.



Job diversity

The Boeing Company remains Orange County's largest employer, but aerospace jobs dipped during the 1990s, while computer and high-tech employment surged.



Compiled by Associate Editor Kathleen Les.
Sources: Orange County Community Indicators 2001, Orange County Progress Report 2000, 2000 U.S. Census: California Dept. Of Finance

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GOP defends its turf

At one time, the figure who best personified the face and spirit of the Orange County Republican Party was neither a politician nor a party leader. It was actor John Wayne. Simply put, John Wayne was a god in Orange County in the eyes of the white conservative Republicans who dominated the landscape. Wayne's roles as the rugged, do-right cowboy and the ever-patriotic military man were an inspiration to the party's patriarchal leadership. Orange County so loved John Wayne that it changed the name of its commercial airport in Santa Ana to John Wayne Airport in 1979, the year he died.

Times are tough for Orange County's Republican Party. Demographic shifts and infighting are making life difficult for the party that once reigned supreme in this politically crucial county.

By Noel Brinkerhoff

But the man who brought the larger-than-life Rooster Cogburn to the big screen is fading fast as a local icon. Orange County is no longer a Wonder Bread of homogeneity, thanks to an influx of thousands of Asians and Hispanics. Consequently, Republicans now must reach out and woo new ethnic voters because the party no longer enjoys the level of predominance it once held in the county. Statistics show that while Orange County's population rose by 400,000 (from 2.4 million to 2.8 million) during the 1990s, GOP voter registration declined six percentage points, from 55 percent to 49 percent.

The decline is attributable in large measure to the GOP's inability to capture many of the county's new ethnic voters who have tended to register as Democrats, says Fred Smoller, associate professor of political science at Chapman University. It's also had an impact statewide. Politically,

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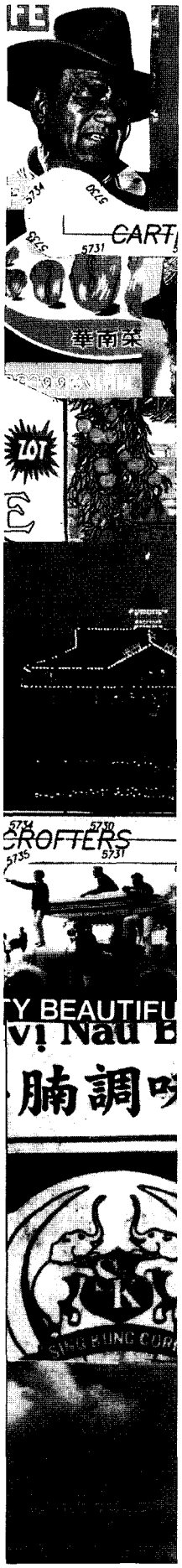

Republicans are conducting local outreach efforts with Asians and Hispanics. But these attempts are being hampered by some of the GOP's earlier — and questionable — election tactics, both statewide and locally, that resulted in the party gaining a reputation as anti-immigrant.

the conventional wisdom has held that the GOP in statewide races must win Orange County by a two-thirds majority to offset Democratic strenth elsewhere. The GOP's inability to carry statewide contests in Orange County is mirrored in the party's declining fortunes statewide. To counter this trend, Republicans are conducting local outreach efforts with Asians and Hispanics. But these attempts are being hampered by some of the GOP's earlier — and questionable — election tactics, both statewide and locally, that resulted in the party gaining a reputation as anti-immigrant.

Tom Tucker of the New Majority

Meanwhile, Orange County's GOP leadership is facing its own internal challenge, making it difficult for old-guard conservatives to dominate county politics as they once did. Last year a group of wealthy Republican business leaders banded together with the hope of moderating the GOP's right-wing philosophy, and relations today between some GOP moderates and conservatives — in the wake of internecine battle for control of the county GOP Central Committee — are still tenuous.

As a result of these changes and challenges, the face of tomorrow's Orange County Republican Party may look decidedly different from the strapping, true-grit conservatism of John Wayne. Instead, the party's new look may resemble that of a 36-year-old Vietnamese immigrant named Van Tran.

Linking with "Little Saigon"

Tran was only 10 years old when his family fled their home country after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. They eventually settled in Orange County, where Tran has lived since 1980. Today, Tran is a practicing business attorney and a rising community leader in the Republican Party. Although elected to his first term on the Garden Grove City Council only last fall, Tran already is being talked about by some Republicans as a potential candidate for either the Legislature or Congress.

"He would make an outstanding candidate for the Assembly or Senate at some point," says Assemblyman Ken Maddox (R-Garden Grove), who describes Tran as "both savvy and a great businessman." Other Republicans have mentioned Tran's name as a future challenger to Democratic Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez (D-Santa Ana).

A self-described moderate Republican who garnered bipartisan endorsements during his city council race, Tran recently spoke in Florida at a national gathering of state Republican Party chairs, where he discussed the GOP's outreach toward ethnic communities — an especially important task for Republicans in central Orange County. Garden Grove, the county's fourth-largest city, with a population of 165,196, is almost evenly divided between

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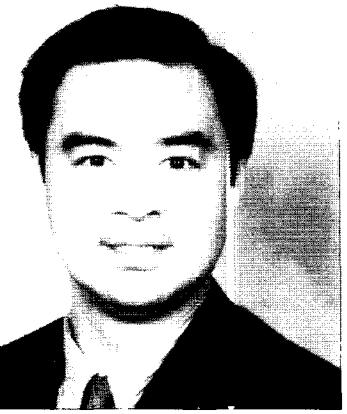

n Tran, Garden Grove City Councilman

Caucasians, Hispanics and Asians, including many Vietnamese. Overall, more than 200,000 Vietnamese live in Orange County, mostly in the cities of Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, Stanton and Fountain Valley, commonly referred to as "Little Saigon" — the largest concentration of Vietnamese in the world outside of Vietnam.

For the Republican Party, Tran serves as an important link between the GOP and the Vietnamese community, which has tended in past elections to vote Republican more often than Orange County's other Asian American groups. But as Tran explains, the GOP's work is far from finished when it comes to courting Vietnamese voters.

"The Vietnamese vote is a vote that is not to be slighted or forgotten," insists Tran, who adds that Vietnamese loyalty to the Republican Party "is not very deep" due to the community's young voters. Tran also points out that Democrats have not ceded the Vietnamese vote to the GOP, and are employing outreach efforts of their own. "I am impressed with their effort. The Democrats have done a very good job of getting their message out," he said.

Democrats indeed have made inroads with Orange County's Asian and Hispanic communities. Hispanics especially are a key voting bloc because of their size — better than double the combined populations of Orange County's Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Filipino communities. Outreach efforts, including door-to-door canvassing, by Democrats are a big reason for their recent election victories in seats once held by Republicans — specifically Sanchez in 1996, state Senator Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana) and Assemblyman Lou Correa (D-Anaheim) in 1998. Dunn's victory was an especially stinging defeat for Republicans because it knocked off former Senate GOP leader Rob Hurtt, a key right-wing activist and financial backer during the 1990s.

"Why don't you love us?"

Today, Republicans are focusing their energies on attracting ethnic voters in the cities of Santa Ana and Anaheim — Orange County's two largest urban centers, according to Manny Padilla, coordinator of the GOP's local outreach program. The two cities have more than 400,000 Hispanics — compared to 160,000 Caucasians and 70,000 Asians. Padilla says Republicans are diligently attending Hispanic cultural and political events, including a recent event in Santa Ana honoring the late United Farm Workers union leader Cesar Chavez and an awards dinner hosted by the Orange County Hispanic Chamber of Commerce.

"There was a real effort to make sure there were some Republicans involved with that event," says former Assembly Republican Leader Bill Campbell (R-Villa Park) of the Hispanic Chamber dinner, which he attended with Maddox and Assemblyman John Campbell (R-Irvine). "That's a case where you have to show up. You have to be there. You can't take anyone for granted — especially a group that historically has voted more Democrat."

Showing up, though, is only half the battle. Campbell admits Republican outreach efforts have resulted in successes as well as frustrations when it comes to overcoming stereotypes. On the one hand, he says, there's the "positive stereotype" of Asians and Hispanics being self-reliant, hard-working and family-oriented — qualities that run parallel to the GOP's traditional image. But to get ahead, those communities have had to rely on various government programs, Campbell explains, which flies in the face of the GOP's anti-government reputation. "We as Republicans have a problem getting across [our message] through that [reputation]."

Republicans also have another reputation to overcome — of being anti-immigrant, and, more specifically, anti-Hispanic, thanks to some controversial behavior in past elections. There was the now-infamous Republican-backed initiative, Proposition 187 in 1994, which sought to eliminate government services for illegal immigrants. The campaign supporting the initiative included inflammatory TV commercials that warned "They keep coming," implying that illegal immigrants from Mexico were flooding California. Locally in Orange County, there were two

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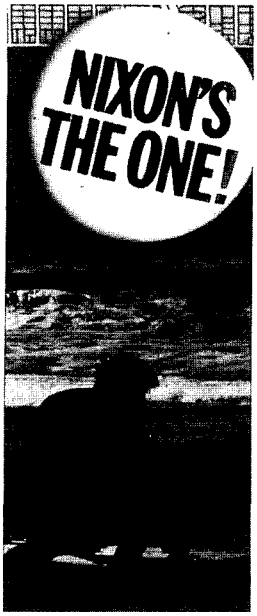

"At the end of the day, there's a practical realization — a sobering one — that all Republicans must work together."

— local GOP leader Van Tran

GOP campaigns that also alienated Hispanic voters. First was the 1988 "poll guard" incident during Assemblyman Curt Pringle's first election, in which the local GOP hired private security guards to patrol election precincts in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods. Then, in the wake of Loretta Sanchez's upset victory of Republican Congressman Bob Dornan in 1996, Dornan publicly accused Sanchez of stealing the election with the aid of illegal immigrants voting on her behalf.

Republican attempts to overcome the anti-Hispanic perception might be bolstered if the party had more locally elected GOP Hispanics who could perform the same kind of outreach that Tran has accomplished with Vietnamese residents. Currently, Orange County Republicans can't boast of any elected Hispanic officeholders above the level of school board member, according to Campbell and Padilla.

New directions, new majority

At the same time Republicans are busy courting Orange County's new voters, they also must contend with an internal power struggle for control of the local party. Beginning three years ago, GOP moderates attempted to wrest control of the Orange County Central Committee from conservatives, who have long dominated local politics and in the past behaved in an imperial fashion, such as during the 1995 recall campaign led by conservatives against GOP Assembly Speaker Doris Allen. They also have been accused of applying litmus tests — such as the abortion issue — to those seeking to run for office. In 1998, a group calling itself Republicans for New Directions, which included County Supervisor Charles Smith and various city council members, ran a slate of 30 candidates for the Central Committee, winning 11 seats. Two years later, yet another group — comprised of some of Orange County's most powerful businessmen — ran a slate of moderate candidates for the Central Committee election in 2000.

Known as the New Majority Committee, the group distinguished itself from the New Directions effort by its greater financial firepower. New Majority's initial membership included the Irvine Company's Don Bren and business mogul George Argyros and totaled 50 millionaires, who each contributed $10,000 towards the Central Committee election. Despite spending $300,000 on a slate of 42 candidates, the New Majority only won 14 seats — and six of those were with candidates co-endorsed by conservatives.

The election "went okay, but not as well as we hoped it would," says Assemblyman Tom Harman (R-Huntington Beach), a New Majority member who retained his Central Committee seat. Although their effort came up short, New Majority members still celebrated last year when Harman and another moderate Republican, Assemblywoman Lynn Daucher (R-Brea), won election to the state Assembly, defeating primary opponents who were backed by party conservatives.

Harman's and Daucher's primary victories were challenged in a lawsuit filed last year by their conservative opponents, who contended that moderates had circumvented the will of Republicans by relying on Democratic crossover votes in the open primary. That legal challenge fizzled, however, and both Harman and Daucher say their relations with conservatives in the Orange County delegation have been friendly since arriving in Sacramento.

"I sense a great desire on everyone's part to come together," says Daucher. "The party can't afford a war."

Back home, though, things are still being smoothed out between New Majority and party leaders. In their effort to win control of the Central Committee, New Majority members made it clear they wanted to get rid of longtime county GOP Chairman Tom Fuentes, who they accused of running a "good old boys" system that excluded moderates, women and minorities from gaining office. Backers of Fuentes took exception to the attacks.

"Tom Fuentes has worked hard for many years at making the Republican Party the best county party in the entire country," says Maddox. "I thought it to be a wrong-headed act and somewhat insulting to have a group come in and want to eliminate demonstrated leadership instead of saying, 'Hey, let's partner.'"

New Majority Chairman Tom Tucker, a wealthy private investor who's lived in Orange County since 1951, says "we've certainly learned a lot" since last year, and adds that the group has begun forging relationships with some of Orange County's locally elected officials. He also says tensions between moderates and conservatives have eased since the Central Committee battle.

As Tran puts it, "there is a truce" between the two sides, although a lingering "sense of distrust" still exists. But for the sake of the party and its future, he adds, any uneasiness must be overcome. "At the end of the day, there's a practical realization — a sobering one — that all Republicans must work together."

Noel Brinkerhoff is associate editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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John Ferraro: The end of an era in L.A.'s City Hall

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

It has become almost trite, in this world of term-limited public service, to declare the death of a senior California politician as "the end of an era." But in the case of John Ferraro, it's true. Seventy-six-year-old Ferraro was the longest-running city council member in Los Angeles history and served as council president for a record 18 years. The passing of "Big John," who succumbed to cancer on April 17, removed the last vestige of adult supervision from Los Angeles City Hall.

In 1966 Ferraro, a middle-of-the-road Democrat who supported John F. Kennedy for president, was appointed by then-Mayor Sam Yorty to represent the 4th Council District (current council member Nick Pacheco was barely two years old, and 28-year-old councilman Alex Padilla had not even been born). Ferraro won election to the seat in 1967 and went on to win re-election eight times, despite the changing demographics and shifting boundaries of his district.

John Ferraro, 1924-2001

Ferraro's death comes at a time of dynamic change for Los Angeles City government: a new mayor, city attorney and city controller, along with a record six new council members, all take office next month. The longest-tenured member now becomes Joel Wachs, a 30-year City Hall veteran who, because of term limits, will be out the door in two years — just as Ferraro would have been, had he lived. The forced departure of Wachs, a failed candidate for mayor, and four other incumbents leaves Padilla, elected in 1999 and the council's youngest member, as one of the body's "elder statesmen."

Ferraro's replacement likely will be chosen in a special election this summer. Among those mentioned as possible candidates are former state Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, state Resources Agency chief Mary Nichols and Los Angeles Community College Trustee Beth Garfield (the wife of former Assemblyman Wally Knox).

In announcing Ferraro's death, Council President pro Tempore Ruth Galanter observed, "We are all sort of his children here. It's really hard to lose your dad." She described him as "the voice of reason and humor" for the council, a notoriously feudin', fussin', and fractious group of politicians. Ever-eyeing their next political move, council members trusted Ferraro because he had no higher agenda than quietly serving his constituents and the city. Ferraro's drubbing in the 1985 mayor's race, by incumbent mayor Tom Bradley, ended Ferraro's desire for City Hall's top job. As a consequence, mayoral wannabes — who constitute a healthy majority of the Los Angeles Council — could rally around his leadership without threatening their own fiefdoms.

Ferraro's special stature made him uniquely suited to bail out the city on controversial issues. He overcame political opposition and helped cut the deal to bring the 1984 Olympics, the Staples Center and the 2000 Democratic National Convention to Los Angeles.

But Ferraro's most important contribution as a skillful, behind-the-scenes negotiator is the pivotal role he played in resolving two critical and highly sensitive law enforcement matters.

Ferraro, who served 13 years on the city's Police Commission and was considered a strong ally of the police force and its leadership, nevertheless helped orchestrate the 1992 departure of then-Police Chief Daryl F. Gates in the wake of the Rodney King beating by police officers and subsequent riots.

Despite his long-standing support of Gates, Ferraro engineered a deal that led to the chief's retirement and nudged Gates to honor it when the chief waffled on his departure date.

Last year, Ferraro helped broker an agreement with Mayor Richard Riordan, Police Chief Bernard Parks and a contentious city council over the federal consent decree to reform the Los Angeles Police Department in the wake of the Rampart police corruption scandal. Ferraro returned to council chambers for the first time after cancer surgery to cast a crucial vote in favor of accepting the decree's mandates.

Comparing his City Hall job to a stint as a two-time All-American football player at his beloved University of Southern California, Ferraro observed, "I was a tackle. Sure, we never got any glory, no headlines, and that has been my philosophy."

In the hyped-up, media-driven, take-no-prisoners political environment of Los Angeles City Hall, the council's last, best practitioner of that philosophy will be sorely missed.

Contributing Editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is senior scholar at the University of Southern California. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com**.

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A modern-day Helen of Troy?

Five years ago, Loretta Sanchez earned her nickname, "the dragon slayer," for dispatching Orange County's legendary conservative Bob Dornan. Since then, the feisty congresswoman has proved she can take the political heat.

By Emelyn Rodriguez

Whatever you may think of her, Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez (D-Santa Ana) is no shrinking violet. Feisty, unapologetic, tenacious to a fault, Sanchez is a strong personality who draws equally strong reactions. She basks in the glow of public attention and, sometimes, the uproar she creates — or some say, orchestrates. She also likes to have fun and to laugh out loud, something she attributes to her father's philosophy about humor getting one through the bad times. When it comes to Sanchez, no one is neutral.

Sanchez vaulted to the national spotlight in 1996 as a 36-year-old political neophyte who narrowly defeated arch-conservative icon Congressman Bob Dornan (R-Garden Grove) then easily won re-election in a rematch with Dornan two years later. She was hailed by supporters as a "dragon slayer," a dogged novice who trumped more experienced and better-known political opponents, an almost mythical feat.

"She sort of typifies a modern-day Helen of Troy," said former West Covina Democratic Congressman Esteban Torres, a mentor and early supporter. "She launched a

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A California Journal photo collage

thousand ships. She took on a big conqueror and beat him...It proves that when you have the right ingredients — the support and the right message — you can overcome a tough opponent."

Her victory was attributed in part to her aggressive, grassroots, door-to-door campaigning and to Dornan's distraction with a quixotic, long-shot bid for the presidency. But it also was a tribute to changing demographics in the 46th Congressional District, where ever-increasing numbers of Latinos are registering to vote.

Sanchez's 1996 victory over Dornan — by 984 votes — was so close that it was under review by the House Oversight Committee until February 1998, when the committee dismissed Dornan's challenge of the election results. While it found evidence that non-citizens voted illegally in the election, the committee's investigators said those votes did not change the election results.

Five years later, Sanchez remains in the spotlight.

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Never boring, she is often controversial. Last year, as co-chair of the Democratic National Committee, she made headlines with her plans to host a fundraiser at the Playboy mansion during the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles. Democratic Party leaders vigorously objected to the venue. At first, Sanchez refused to back down, but later moved the event to a more neutral location. She raised eyebrows in 1999 by breaking with protocol to support then-state Senator Hilda Solis' challenge of Congressional colleague Marty Martinez (D-Monterey Park). And in April, while some members of Congress were postponing or canceling trips to China in the midst of the U.S. spy plane standoff, Sanchez made headlines and appeared on national television news programs when she and a dozen other U.S. lawmakers pressed on with plans to visit China.

"They thought if they just made life miserable for me. . . and they went after me every day, I would just crumble and die. And the more they pushed me, the more I was determined to push back."

Sanchez said hers has been a long, hard road to success and, while she loves her job, the position has not come without costs. For instance, during Sanchez's heated and highly contentious 1996 campaign against Dornan, she suffered periods of doubts and second thoughts.

Toughing it out

"There were times — not too many — but there were times when I would sit in my closet and close the door to the world and cry," said Sanchez during a recent interview in her Washington, D.C., office. "First I had to get through a primary where the Democrats did not endorse me. Then I had to go after Bob Dornan when not too many people believed that I could win. And then, after I won, the Republicans and Bob Dornan went after my seat to try to take it away. It cost me a million dollars in legal and other fees. And I had to win re-election after spending 17 months trying to hold on to my seat. So yeah, there were some bad times."

Sanchez said that during those dark times, an inner faith sustained her.

"What kept me going?," Sanchez asked. "Just knowing that I could win, that I'm a good person and that all the things they were saying about me — lies about making a fraudulent election and all that stuff — just weren't true. And then they got me mad. They thought if they just made life miserable for me, and made me spend a lot of money, and they went after me every day, I would just crumble and die. And the more they pushed me, the more I was determined to push back."

It's her strength in the face of adversity, friends and supporters say, that makes Sanchez a standout among the congressional crowd.

"Through all that adversity, she showed incredible courage, presence and commitment to do her job at the same time she was fighting to keep that job," said Wylie Aitken, a Santa Ana attorney who was Sanchez's campaign chairman. "Her courage, strength and commitment are wonders to behold."

Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren (D-San Jose) said Sanchez "is well known as someone who is pretty fearless. She is willing to stand up for herself, for issues that she believes in and for what she thinks is right. She is not someone who you can intimidate."

There are, however, some in the Democratic party, who perceive Sanchez as "a complete wild card," at times unwilling to be a team player. "They wish she'd just go away, except that she's the Dornan killer and a solid Hispanic woman in a former white man's district," said one observer who asked not to be identified.

There is also no love lost between Sanchez and her political enemies, particularly Dornan, who to this day maintains she stole the election by fraud and used sleazy campaign tactics. And neither the passage of time nor her two re-elections has softened that stance.

"Loretta Sanchez is laden down with scandal," said Dornan, who now lives in Virginia and is a radio talk show host. "She's a figure of contempt in the Democratic Party. She's a playmate wannabe...She became a national name because she stole my seat. Beyond that, what is she doing with it? Wasting it."

Dornan contends that Sanchez spends more energy on self-promotion than on serving her community. "She has affected no legislation, whatsoever," he said. "She's considered a street-smart fox, a clever person who can work behind the scenes to her advantage, but no one looks to her as a legislator."

A one-time Republican

Sanchez, who was raised in Anaheim by Mexican immigrant parents, was shy as a child and says she never intended a career in politics. When she was young, Sanchez thought of being a dentist. Her father wanted her to be "a research scientist on a space ship."

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Ultimately she settled on a career in finance, earning an economics degree from Chapman University in Orange County and an M.B.A. from American University in Washington, D.C

A former Republican, Sanchez said she switched her party allegiance in 1992 after watching the GOP national convention.

"I was clicking on the TV channels and it was Pat Buchanan,' she said. "It was prime time and the Republicans let Pat Buchanan spew out a speech about dropping the bridges and getting rid of immigrants. It was so anti-immigrant and so anti-woman that I just sat there with my mouth open listening to this guy say all this scary stuff. And I said, 'Oh my God. This is what a Republican is?'"

She added, "Any party who would put up Pat Buchanan saying those things on prime time TV, in their four-year national showcase, is a sick party. That's really the way I thought. And now that I know more about them, that's really the way I feel."

She first dabbled in politics during a 1994 run for an Anaheim City Council seat. She ran as Loretta Sanchez-Brixey, using her married name, and placed eighth in a field of 16 candidates. But instead of giving up, she set her sights on an even bigger prize: Dornan's congressional seat.

"I took a look at the district and played with it a while," she said. "I figured out a formula by which I could win."

An independent streak

Since winning election, Sanchez has channeled her energy and determination into doing the job she fought so hard to secure.

She is known for her independent — often unpredictable — streak and her passion for issues such as abortion rights, education, labor and environmental protection — areas where she often sides with liberal colleagues. For example, she unsuccessfully fought to overturn the ban on overseas military abortions that Dornan championed while in Congress. But she also has sided with conservatives, particularly on fiscal issues where she often takes a center-right course. She has voted for measures encouraging states to prosecute violent juvenile offenders in adult courts, for Republican-sponsored bills to revamp the country's public housing system and for a constitutional amendment outlawing the desecration of the U.S. flag.

Sanchez's Washington office is filled with photos of her in and around her district, the country and the globe. Here's Loretta posing with U.S. soldiers in Kosovo. There she is with former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo and public housing police. Also adorning the office shelves are various awards from community groups. The League of United Latin American Citizens presented her with a plaque for "outstanding service and commitment to the Hispanic Community." The Citizens Flag Alliance graced another shelf with a "Thank You" award for her support of the Flag Protection Amendment in the 106th Congress, 1999-2000. And the American Federation of Teachers offered kudos for Sanchez's "support of public education, health care and public service."

Sanchez says her top priorities include education, defense and high-tech — areas where she hopes to work with the Bush administration.

"Our priority has always been education," Sanchez said. "Not just kindergarten through twelfth grade, but higher education and, more importantly, retraining and apprenticeship and getting people new skills to change jobs...I also sit on the defense committee. And I'm really interested in taking a look at defense issues and trying to figure out how to move forward in the new century with our military. It's a priority for us. It seems to be a priority for [President] George Bush. So hopefully there will be some intersection there."

On the local level, Sanchez has maintained a full itinerary. She tries to fly home every weekend and attend community events in her ethnically diverse district, which boasts large Latino and Asian populations. She has pushed for a $2.5 million federal grant for a light rail system for Orange County and has championed issues affecting the sizable Vietnamese community in her district, such as reparations for South Vietnamese soldiers who served with U.S. forces during the Vietnam War.

Shadowed by controversy

However, Sanchez has received more publicity on — and perhaps is better known for — her other, more colorful efforts. Case in point: the *Playboy* mansion fund-raising flap in August 2000.

At the time, presidential hopeful Al Gore was desperately trying to distance himself from the Clinton sex scandals. Democratic party leaders wanted a wholesome, family atmosphere to showcase their national convention. The last thing they needed was another controversy.

Sanchez, on the other hand, wanted a "high-profile" venue to raise money for the Hispanic Unity USA political

LORETTA SANCHEZ

BORN: Lynwood, CA, January 7, 1960
HOME: Santa Ana
EDUCATION: Chapman University, Orange, CA, B.S. 1982; American University, Washington, D.C., M.B.A. 1984.
CAREER: financial and management analyst
POLITICAL HISTORY: candidate, Anaheim City Council 1994; U.S. House of Representatives, 1996-present
COMMITTEES: Armed Services; Education and the Workforce
FAMILY: married, Stephen Simmons Brixey III
RELIGION: Catholic
HOBBIES: Reading, studying foreign languages, exercising, bike riding, traveling.

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Sanchez "sometimes runs counter to what people would like to see. She wants to very much be her own person and because of that she will be criticized."

— former Congressman Esteban Torres

action committee that she heads to increase Hispanic voter registration and help Latino candidates nationwide. She broke with party protocol by continuing with plans to host a bash at the Playboy mansion against party leaders' wishes.

Democratic party officials insisted she move her fund-raiser and threatened severe sanctions: loss of a prized speaking role at the convention or loss of her party co-chair spot. Party chairman Joe Andrew said in a curtly worded letter to Sanchez that "the event was neither appropriate nor reflective of our party's values." He added, "As a father of young children, I tried to convey to you my dismay at the kind of message this event would send...But you refused to budge."

When Sanchez refused to back down, she was stripped of her speaking role. She later moved the fund- raiser to City Walk in Universal City and was reinstated as a speaker. But Sanchez gave up the time slot, stating she didn't capitulate just to hold onto a speaking role.

Looking back at the brouhaha, Sanchez said she has no regrets. "It's not a fight I chose to pick," said Sanchez, gesturing boldly with her hands and quickening her speech. "...I just stood up for what I believed was true. You know, you stick with your friends. You're not ashamed of whom you take money from. Otherwise why would you be taking money from them?"

She downplayed any repercussions from the incident. "I came back to Washington thinking, 'O.K. the higher-ups and everybody and their brother are going to be out gunning for me," Sanchez said. "But nope. It's better than ever. I called over to somebody in the [Clinton] administration and I said, 'Oh, God, what do you think? What's the word out here on me?' And he just starts laughing and he goes, 'If anything, you're just stronger out here.'"

But even Sanchez's supporters say that her actions may have strained, if not soured, her relationship with some in the Democratic leadership.

"There's probably some residual feeling from those

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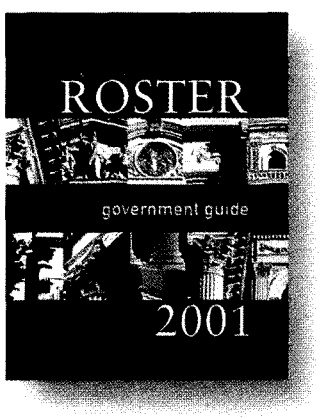

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who are insiders in the beltway region," said former campaign manager Aitken.

Esteban Torres, who is one of Sanchez's confidants, said the controversy has affected her standing with party leaders "to some degree," but he said, "that can be overcome by sustaining her independent position. She's still a Democrat and they recognize that she's no slouch and they have to deal with her."

He added that Sanchez "sometimes runs counter to what people would like to see. She wants to very much be her own person and because of that she will be criticized...She's able to accommodate a common strategy but she has a value system that she believes in and isn't willing to compromise on."

Lessons learned

During her time in Congress, Sanchez said she has learned many lessons about the art of politics. She credits her mentors — among them Torres and former Energy Secretary and New Mexico Congressman Bill Richardson — for providing continuing insight, advice and support.

When Sanchez was first elected, having never served in the Legislature or Congress, she said Richardson was instrumental in showing her the ropes. "I would do something and he would shake his head," Sanchez recalled. "He would come and find me and he would say, 'You cannot do this in the Congress.'"

Once when Sanchez was offered a spot as a regional whip, she turned it down and suggested it be offered to another lawmaker. Richardson, she said, came into her office and sat her down. "He told me, 'Loretta, you *never* give anything away until you've traded something for it. Because every little thing here costs you something. Don't give anybody a free ride.'"

Sanchez laughed at the memory. "Things like that were totally foreign," she said. "I thought, 'Gosh, if you're a nice person, people will be nice back to you.' You know, that's not the way it works out here."

Another colleague, former Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Oakland), provided lessons for balancing work and family life. She met Dellums when he was head of the House Armed Services Committee, shortly before he retired in 1998.

"He said to me, 'Loretta, I lost a wife through this job. I lost my children because of this job. I lost my friends because of this job,'" Sanchez recalled Dellums telling her. "'Thirty years later...I realize that I am alone. That is what this job does to you. I've got to stop because I've got to get to know my daughter again and my grandchildren. I've got to stop because I've got to make friends — not just people from the Hill. I want my life back. Most members make that mistake...Don't do that to yourself.'"

Sanchez said she carves out time for herself from 5:30 to 7:30 in the morning to either walk, run, lift weights or bike-ride. She also reserves time to be with her husband, securities trader Stephen Brixey, and family members, but finds it increasingly difficult. Because of her hectic, bi-coastal lifestyle, Sanchez doubts she will have children. "Probably no kids," she said pensively. "Not with this job."

Looking forward

Supporters say Sanchez has a bright future with the Democratic Party, despite occasional scrapes with party colleagues. "You don't have to agree with Loretta on every single thing to have a positive working relationship with her," Lofgren said. "You can work together and have a respectful, professional relationship."

Art Torres, chairman of the California Democratic Party, said that, in his opinion, Sanchez can go far. "She's very assertive. She's very bright and she's focused," he said. "I don't see anything that can hamper her future...If the Democrats take the House back in 2002, I think there's some potential for her to be in some kind of leadership role."

Sanchez said she hopes to continue working for her district and may go for a U.S. Senate seat years down the line, if either of the state's Senators, Dianne Feinstein or Barbara Boxer, decided to retire.

"Politically, I think I'll still be in Washington," she said. "I think I'll be doing this job. Maybe a senator, if a senator decided not to run...That's because I like people. I'm not afraid of people. I like to hear what they have to say."

Emelyn Rodriguez is senior editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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Dug in for battle:
El Toro's land use epic

When a military base closes in California, community leaders typically anguish over the loss of jobs and economic stability. But once the hand-wringing ends, the hard work usually begins as community leaders come together to find a replacement for lost jobs and displaced workers.

In Orange County, that hasn't happened. The closure in July 1999 of the longstanding El Toro Marine Corps base has generated a new local industry — political wrangling

It's been nearly two years since the El Toro Marine base closed its doors. What to do with this prime piece of real estate has become Orange County's most contentious land use debate. It has spawned lawsuits, rival ballot initiatives and full-time employment for cadres of lawyers, consultants, pollsters and spin meisters. The question most of Orange County is asking: When will it end?

By William Fulton and Paul Shigley

— and an unexpected boom in jobs, but not the ones that county planners envisioned.

Public relations experts, political consultants, pollsters and attorneys — not to mention land use planners and environmental scientists — have found steady employment at El Toro in the seemingly never-ending battle over what to do with the 4,700-acre facility.

"It's become a mini-industry in Orange County. People are always asking, 'Which side are you working for?'" says Mark Baldassare, senior fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California and founder of the Orange County Annual Survey at the University of California, Irvine. "It's been a profit center for the political consulting business and the public relations business."

The spin doctors and consultants are cashing in on what might be the most intractable land use controversy in

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A squadron of F-18 fighter jets on the El Toro tarmac. (Above) campaign literature for converting to parkland.

California. During the first year after El Toro appeared on the U.S. Defense Department's base closure list in 1993, representatives of Orange County and its cities worked cooperatively on a base reuse plan. But once the focus turned to developing a large civilian airport at El Toro, locals took sides and stopped talking.

The Orange County Board of Supervisors is split 3-2 in favor of an airport; supervisors from the south county, where the base is located, are opposed. Eight cities in the south county, led by Irvine, have formed a powerful anti-airport coalition that opposes the airport primarily over concerns about excessive noise and freeway congestion. At least three communities near El Toro have incorporated as new cities primarily to join the anti-airport forces.

There has been endless litigation, and yet another El Toro ballot initiative — the fourth in eight years — appears headed toward the March 2002 ballot.

Reuse of El Toro is the dominant topic in Orange County politics, and the two sides cannot conduct a civilized discussion on the issue.

"I personally have never seen anything like this particular land use conflict anywhere in California," Baldassare

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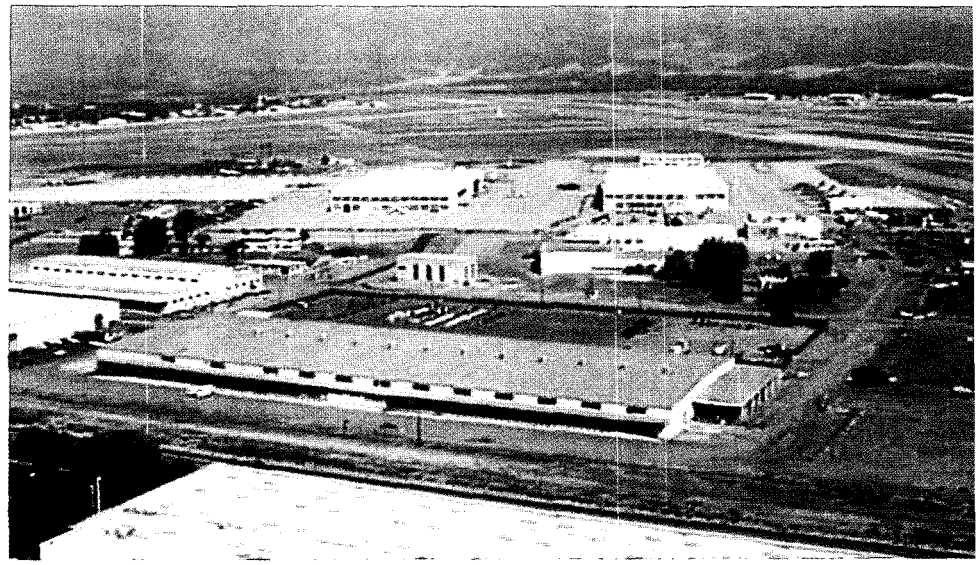
observes. "It's very polarized. It's a casebook example of how not to manage a base reuse decision and a land use decision in a county. There was absolutely no consensus-building."



Aerial view of the former Marine base runway and hangars. Photos courtesy of the Orange County Local Redevelopment Authority

From citrus to cities

The Marine Corps base at El Toro was built among the row crops and citrus orchards of Orange County during World War II. At the time, the county's population was about 130,000. Over the decades, however, its largely suburban development swallowed up most of Orange County's flat land. Cities grew around El Toro, including job-rich Irvine, and a number of large business campuses now butt up against the base. This urban encroachment was partly responsible for the military's decision to close El Toro, which had become a major support center for the U.S. Navy's Pacific Fleet. The Navy, which oversees the Marine Corps, feared that the urban encroachment was compromising El Toro's military mission.

For a year, base reuse planning was a harmonious, all-inclusive exercise in the hands of the El Toro Reuse Planning Authority, a group comprised of city and county officials. But when the Orange County fiscal crisis hit in October 1994, El Toro planning was put on hold.

The following month, 51 percent of county voters approved Measure A, a ballot initiative designating El Toro in the county's master plan as a future passenger and cargo airport. The measure, championed and funded by George Argyros, former owner of the AirCal passenger airline and a wealthy apartment builder, effectively took El Toro's planning out of the hands of the local, multi-city group and placed it solely with Orange County's Board of Supervisors, which has been pro-airport. Argyros, who reportedly spent $3.5 million on ballot initiatives supporting the airport conversion, recently announced he was stepping out of the airport fight to take an appointment by the Bush administration as ambassador to Spain.

Shortly after Measure A's passage, the Navy confirmed the Board of Supervisors as the official reuse planning authority. Supervisors pressed ahead with plans for a civilian airport, estimated to cost about $3 billion, while south county cities, including Mission Viejo, Laguna Woods and Lake Forest, continued their work on alternative uses for the former military base.

A 1996 initiative to overturn Measure A failed, emboldening the three-member majority on the Board of Supervisors to continue with plans for an airport that could accommodate at least 28 million passengers a year, about four times as many as now use nearby John Wayne Airport.

The political rancor continued nonstop until it reached a crescendo in March of 2000, when two-thirds of Orange County voters approved Measure F, the Safe and Healthy Communities initiative. That measure requires two-thirds of county voters to approve any airports, large jails or hazardous waste facilities in the county — a measure clearly aimed as a referendum on El Toro's airport.

Airport supporters immediately filed a lawsuit claiming the initiative was unconstitutional and, in December, Los Angeles Superior Court Judge S. James Otero agreed. In a detailed ruling, Otero essentially told airport opponents that, if they wanted to stop the project, they needed to overturn Measure A directly.

Airport opponents have appealed that ruling, both to the U.S. District Court of Appeal and to the court of public opinion. In May, airport opponents began collecting signatures on the Orange County Central Park and Nature Preserve Initiative, which would repeal the airport designation in the county general plan. Instead, El Toro's acreage would be set aside for use as parkland, wildlife habitat and even as a possible new location for California State University, Fullerton.

Although early polls indicate the initiative will pass easily, the battle promises to be bruising. The same day that initiative supporters submitted ballot language to election officials, the Orange County Board of Supervisors approved a $3 million public relations budget promoting the benefits of an airport at El Toro, but denied it was ballot-related.

"It is not campaign literature at all," says Board Chairwoman Cynthia Coad, an airport backer. "It is strictly information. It is going to be easy for people to get the facts about El Toro."

Airport advocacy

Whether or not the facts support an airport at El Toro depends, naturally, on one's point of view. For proponents, a major passenger and cargo airport is essential to maintain the health of Orange County's economy, and El Toro is the only large piece of flat ground available. They contend that an airport is a compatible use as military planes flew in and out of El Toro for more than half a century.

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Entrance gate to the El Toro Marine base.

Military barracks occupy a portion of El Toro's 4,700 acres.

Opponents counter that there have been far too many houses built under El Toro's flight paths to continue its use as an airfield. They also contend that the area's congested freeways — some of which are already 16 lanes wide — were not designed with airport traffic in mind. Furthermore, they say the region is already served by John Wayne Airport, just eight miles away.

Airport opponent Bill Kogerman, chairman of Citizens for Safe and Healthy Communities, said regional airport needs could be better met in San Bernardino, Moreno Valley and Palmdale, all communities that are begging for airports, as well as by construction of a high-speed rail system to connect Orange County travelers with Los Angeles and Ontario airports.

Proponents have been bolstered by two recent developments: the Bush administration has made construction of additional runways across the nation as one of its top transportation priorities, and the Southern California Association of Governments in April adopted a Regional Transportation Plan that calls for a major airport at El Toro as a means of reducing the pressure on Los Angeles International Airport and other overcrowded airports.

Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta and Federation Aviation Administration chief Jane Garvey have both spoken about the need to speed runway construction to meet a predicted doubling in the number of air passengers over the next 20 years. Mineta and other administration officials say they are willing to reduce environmental regulations to aid runway development.

"This is not the first administration that has tried to push on building more airport capacity," says David Luberoff, associate director of the A. Alfred Taubman Center for State and Local Government at Harvard. "The question is, to what extent are the obstacles federal and to what extent are the obstacles local? ... If you think about what is preventing a new airport at El Toro or expansion at LAX, it is intense local opposition. There's no local political consensus for the project."

Indeed, state lawmakers have largely kept out of the debate, a political mine field, preferring to let local officials handle the wrangling. At the congressional level, Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach) has been a strong advocate for an airport at El Toro while the more reticent Christopher Cox (R-Newport Beach) has tried walking a middle road on the touchy topic.

Back to the ballot

The next chapter in the El Toro story will be the release of the environmental impact report for the county's airport master plan, expected late this summer. Also in the works is a federal environmental study, already three years overdue, assessing the amount of ground pollution after 50 years of military operations on the site.

Both reports should provide plenty of ammunition for both sides in the fight over the proposed initiative, the Orange County Central Park and Nature Preserve. The "great park," as it is often called, would set aside about 1,000 acres for a nature preserve and about 2,000 acres for a central park and expansive recreation facilities. To fund park development, about 1,100 units of former military housing would be refurbished and rented, and about 3 million square feet of existing industrial and warehouse space would be leased, generating at least $20 million a year in revenues for an endowment, according to Larry Agran, Irvine mayor and an initiative supporter.

But airport supporters are not convinced that a park project is possible. "Where is the money going to come from?" asks Supervisor Coad. "Is it going to be just a weed patch? It is going to be a hobo village?"

And on it goes. Will the next initiative settle the issue once and for all?

According to a recent poll, nearly everyone in Orange County has an opinion on El Toro's future, but no more than one-quarter of those favor an airport.

"It really pains me to see how this has divided the community," Coad says. "I don't know how it will end. It's up to the citizens."

William Fulton is editor and Paul Shigley is managing editor of the *California Planning and Development Report*. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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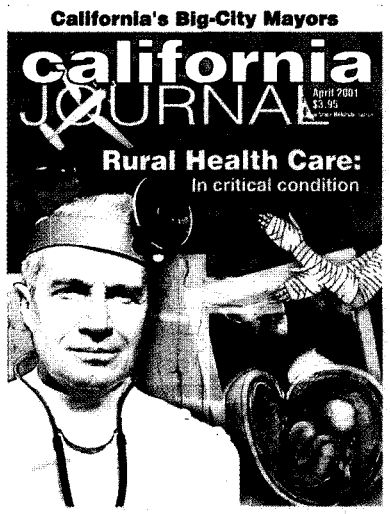
letters

Big-city mayor

As a current candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, I read with interest your interesting features on the challenges facing California's big-city mayors.

There is one statement in Kathleen Les' article ["Big-City Mayors," April 2001] with which I would take issue. Her comment that "land use improvements in older areas are cost-intensive, both in terms of land and infrastructure costs," ignores the incredibly high cost our cities are paying for choosing the sprawl of fringe-area development over reinvigorating our city neighborhoods.

It is ultimately much more cost-effective to locate new housing in cities, where infrastructure aplenty exists to service it. Admittedly, our aging urban infrastructure needs repair and modernization, but that would be the case whether new development occurred or not. By contrast, building new communities on the outskirts of urban areas requires new roads, sewers, power lines, schools, storm drains and other infrastructure.



Urban land definitely is expensive and community activists who do not perceive their cities as cities are not enamored of higher density housing. But the debate over the future of California's cities should acknowledge all the factors that come into play. We can no longer afford to base these important decisions on emotion.

Antonio R. Villaraigosa
Los Angeles

Riled up on Riordan

Your review [of Mayor Richard Riordan] fails miserably as an in-depth review of our two-term mayor's reign. Pulp is what it amounts to.

Why didn't you just say that President Clinton, John Emerson and Bill Wardlaw turned Los Angeles around with a fortune of federal dollars? That would have been clearer. And more accurate.

David Abel, Publisher
The Planning Report and the
Metro Investment Report
Los Angeles

Armenian-Americans respond

Let me first off commend you on an article well written ["Armenian-Americans as political players," April 2001]! And second, let me make one miniscule correction: it is the Armenian National Committee and not the Congress. But let me also ask why you seem to absolutely need the quotations marks every time you mention the G word [genocide]...is it because you want to cast some doubt about it? Because as an outsider reading [your article], I notice that not once does the word tragedy appear in quotation marks!

A. Nizibaum
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Great article. Only one problem, you said it sent hundreds to their deaths, didn't you mean hundreds of thousands? Most estimates by the United States at that time were in the neighborhood of one million. In fact, if you go to www.Armeniangenocide.com you'll get a quick glance at *New York Times* articles and other factoids.

Von Bedikian
Los Angeles

Mr. Doyle states that April, for Armenians, is the cruelest month of all. If so, it is due to uninformed or deliberately misleading statements of those such as Mr. Doyle, which cast a question on the historical truth of the Armenian Genocide. Armenians do not relish being victims of such a crime. We do relish accuracy in the characterization of this crime.

Governments and legislatures need not make statements to interpret the history of the events of 1915. At the meeting of the Association of Genocide Scholars in 1997, the association publicly stated that the Armenians had been subjected to a genocide. I think they are more competent to judge than most legislatures. But it is important, as a moral statement, that nations and governing bodies reassert the truth of the genocide to counter claims by the perpetrator that no such crime was committed.

We would appreciate a retraction of Mr. Doyle's contention that this was not a genocide, and the publication of a more factual and morally acceptable article.

Joseph Dagdigian
Harvard, MA

I wish to point out the sheer irony of a news reporter that purports to represent the truth about world events, but subtly calls them into question, using journalistic writing tricks such as quotation marks around the term Armenian genocide. I

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shudder to think that no matter how hard historians, both of Armenian and non-Armenian descent, try to defend to the contrary, individuals such as Mr. Doyle will keep shrouding this tragic time in world history with doubt.

However having said that, it was still a great article, well written with a lot of good information. Mr. Doyle perhaps wishes that group-politics were not such a force in American politics, and there is merit in that. Perhaps he should do an article detailing the attempts by the Turkish lobby, which continually misinforms the American people and 'buys' the opinions of scholars. I hope he paints that situation with the same brush as he paints Americans of Armenian descent.

Roger Kupelian
Wellington, New Zealand

Michael Doyle was on point on all issues and I commend his efforts. The *New York Times* has written very questionable articles in the recent past which put Armenian issues in a less-than-favorable light. It is a shame that a major paper writes these falsities at the expense of misinforming its readers. On the other hand, I commend your publication of this article; it was refreshing and very factual. I will "cc" *The New York Times* so they may learn what real articles concerning these issues must include.

Richard Sanikian
Fresno

Voting Rights Act still alive

Just as urban legends have a seemingly unfettered propensity to develop a life of their own, "Putting the Puzzle Pieces Together" (March 2001), has perpetuated the myth that the Voting Rights Act is no longer a viable force in redistricting. Quite the contrary, the Voting Rights Act is alive, well and still kicking, and rumors of its death have, in the words of Mark Twain, been greatly exaggerated.

Ignoring the Voting Rights Act and relegating its role to that of a minor nuisance easily disregarded is an invitation to protracted and costly litigation.

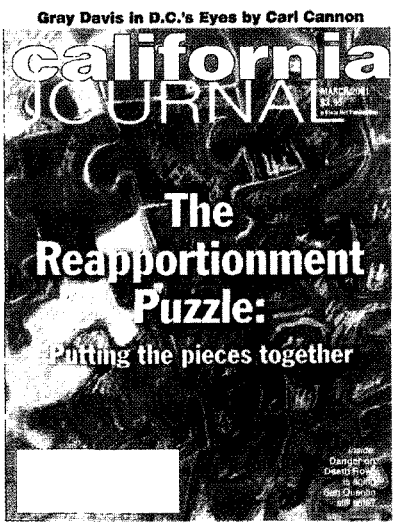
The Voting Rights Act continues to provide a valuable tool for minority communities disenfranchised by any electoral system that contains or perpetuates systemic barriers to equitable participation and fair representation. MALDEF is committed to ensuring that Latinos are provided with every opportunity to participate, as equal partners, in our democracy.

Amadis Velez
Redistricting Coordinator
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)

letters

Cranston's legacy

In Susan Rasky's reflection on Alan Cranston [The Bottom Line, February 2001], I would not want readers to have the impression that California Democratic Council presidents only sit around and chew the bacon.



Alan Cranston was the first president of the California Democratic Council. Joe Wyatt was the second. The current and 14th president is Quincy Beaver, a longtime activist for progressive causes.

Upon its founding by Cranston, Wyatt, Alfred Alquist and others, the California Democratic Council in the 1950s revived a moribund Democratic Party. Today, the CDC represents the voice of the voiceless, continuing to force the Democratic Party to face issues concerning the people of California. The CDC works to stimulate grassroots leadership and opportunities for participation in the political life of California.

Jeff Schwartz
California Democratic Council

On CJ's early days

I just read Emelyn Rodriguez' great piece on rural health in California ["Rural Health Care: In critical condition," April 2001] and want to thank her and the *California Journal*. [It was] thorough and fascinating.

By the way, I recalled once again that back in 1970, when Tom Hoeber and a couple of other young guys started CJ, I made a bet with a colleague in the Assembly Democratic Caucus, Joe Schaeffer, that "it won't last six months."

I had seen several other attempts fail since I started working as a reporter for McClatchy newspapers in 1953. Joe came around to collect his bottle of beer when [issue] No. 6 came out.

Not only has CJ survived, it gets better and better.

Charles Sullivan Hurley
Oakland

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Silicon's sister in

Once known primarily as Disneyland's playground and aerospace's incubator, Orange County is cultivating a new industry: high-tech. Will the region become the next dot-com capital?

By Marla Jo Fisher

The signs are everywhere, literally. Driving the freeway south past John Wayne Airport, the clusters of high-rises dotting the landscape sport the corporate logos of one dot-com company after another.

When it comes to high-tech, Orange County is no Mickey Mouse endeavor. Once known primarily as the home of Disneyland and rock-ribbed Republicans, Orange County has undergone a change.

Shedding its low-key, conservative image, it has emerged to become the 10th largest "cybercity" in America, according to the latest poll by the American Electronics Association and the NASDAQ.

Lured by access to a major research university, clusters of tech companies and even the balmy Southern California climate, a new generation of tech millionaires is changing the face of south Orange County from that of rural pastures to techno-geek heaven. In the process, the region is challenging its older sibling, Silicon Valley, for a larger chunk of California's technology pie.

"Silicon Valley is probably 10 years farther down the road in terms of economic maturity and intensity than we are, partly because of the amount of venture capital that's poured in [there] over the last 20 years," said Ted Smith, founder of the Costa Mesa-based software company FileNET and chairman of the new Orange County chapter of TechNet, the Silicon Valley-based lobbying group. "As a result, you have a larger number of high-tech companies, a larger population and a great strain on all the quality-of-living issues in the valley. In Orange County, you have more affordable housing, less traffic and less pressure on personnel in terms of recruiting."

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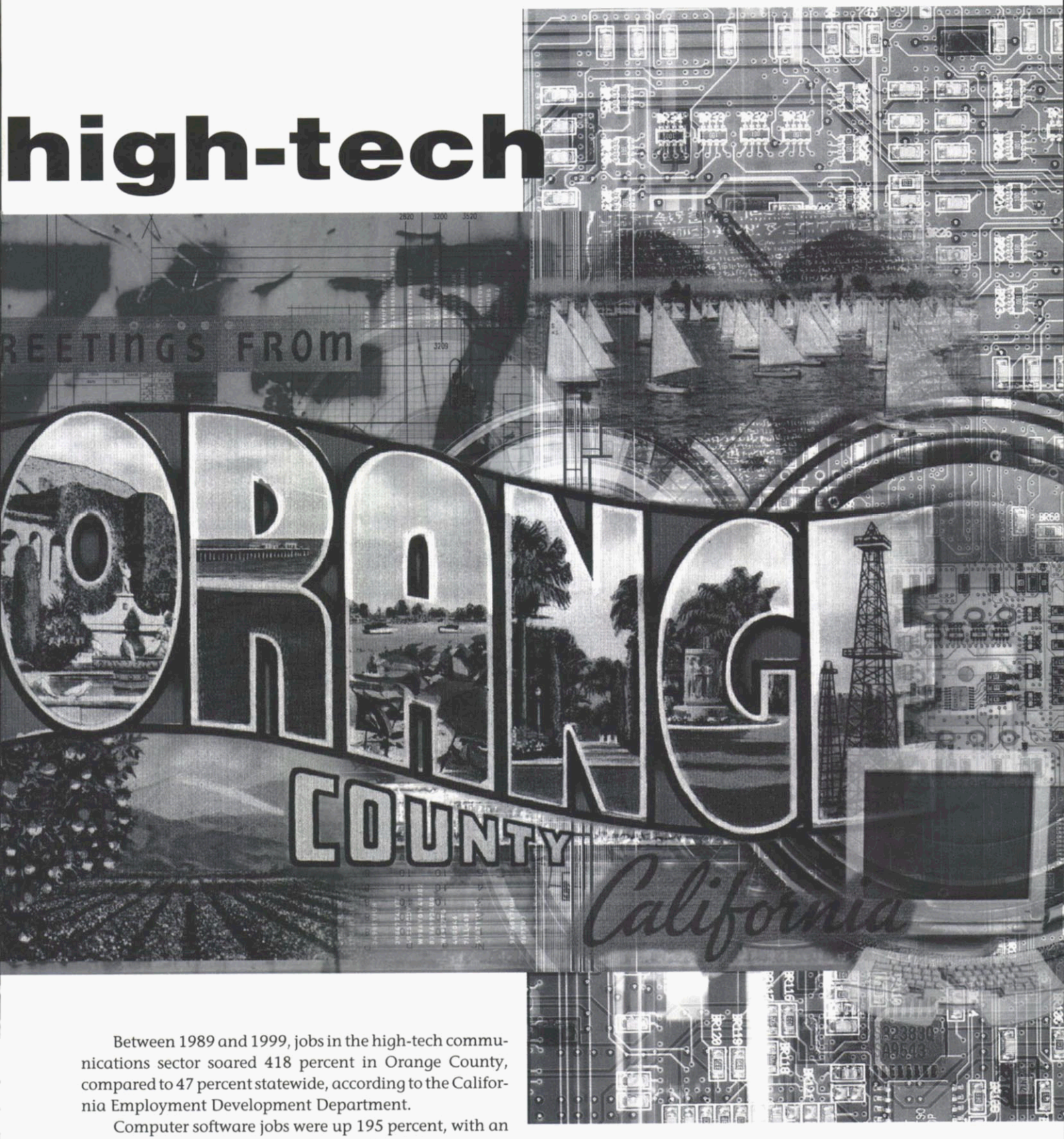
high-tech



Between 1989 and 1999, jobs in the high-tech communications sector soared 418 percent in Orange County, compared to 47 percent statewide, according to the California Employment Development Department.

Computer software jobs were up 195 percent, with an average annual salary of $98,725 in 1999. Other technology jobs were also rising faster than the national average.

While the technology industry itself represents only 2.58 percent of the county's total work force of 1.5 million, it also generates a big chunk of spinoff employment, including intellectual property lawyers, venture capitalists, bankers and even the yacht salesmen who deliver the

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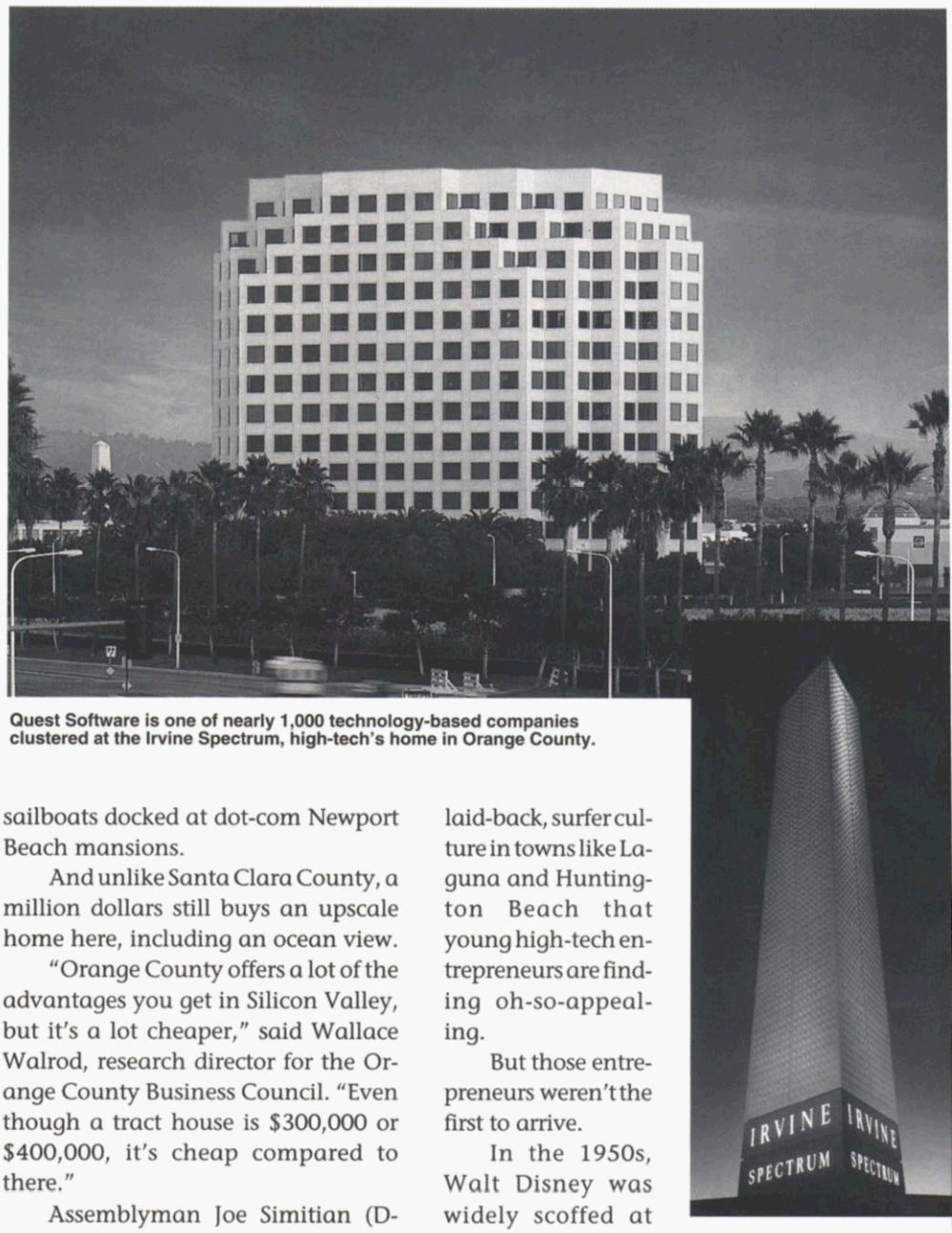
Although Orange County is not immune from high-priced housing and clogged freeways, it has not yet experienced the same level that has bedeviled Silicon Valley. What it does offer is proximity to UC Irvine, outdoor recreation and a sun-drenched climate that young entrepreneurs find oh-so-appealing.



Quest Software is one of nearly 1,000 technology-based companies clustered at the Irvine Spectrum, high-tech's home in Orange County.

sailboats docked at dot-com Newport Beach mansions.

And unlike Santa Clara County, a million dollars still buys an upscale home here, including an ocean view.

"Orange County offers a lot of the advantages you get in Silicon Valley, but it's a lot cheaper," said Wallace Walrod, research director for the Orange County Business Council. "Even though a tract house is $300,000 or $400,000, it's cheap compared to there."

Assemblyman Joe Simitian (D-Palo Alto), whose district encompasses Silicon Valley, agreed that housing prices are causing problems in Santa Clara Valley, both for high-tech's existing employees and for efforts to recruit new workers. High-priced housing also has led to traffic woes, as commuters move farther and farther from their jobs in search of affordable housing.

Although Orange County is not immune from high-priced housing and clogged freeways, it has not yet experienced the same level that has bedeviled Silicon Valley. What it does offer is proximity to the University of California, Irvine, plenty of outdoor recreation, a sun-drenched climate and a laid-back, surfer culture in towns like Laguna and Huntington Beach that young high-tech entrepreneurs are finding oh-so-appealing.

But those entrepreneurs weren't the first to arrive.

In the 1950s, Walt Disney was widely scoffed at when he proposed the preposterous idea of building the world's first theme park in a farming community called Anaheim that boasted more citrus trees than people.

Disney gambled everything on his new amusement park, Disneyland, betting that the newly opened Santa Ana Freeway would bring visitors in droves. His gamble paid off, of course, and a new tourist industry sprang up.

Real-estate developers also followed the new freeway south, chopping down citrus orchards to erect ranch homes tossed up hurriedly to satisfy the lust for suburban life, transforming the landscape in towns like Westminster and Garden Grove into a

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virtually indistinguishable maze of cul-de-sacs and strip malls.

As the Cold War raged, the defense industry also followed the siren call of cheap land. Rockwell International began making missiles in Anaheim and quickly became the largest employer in Orange County, at its peak employing some 35,000 people in high-paying aerospace jobs. Huge defense plants employing thousands of people opened in Fullerton, Huntington Beach and elsewhere, providing the economic engine, along with tourism and agriculture, that drove the county's economy.

But when the Cold War ended, so did the jobs.

"Rockwell actually foresaw that was going to happen," Walrod said. "In 1980, they had about 94 percent of their business in defense contracts. By 1995, it was only about five percent. They sold all their defense business, then sold the rest of [their aerospace business] to Boeing."

Rockwell closed most of its Anaheim facilities, leaving tens of thousands unemployed and huge warehouses sitting empty.

By the early '90s, with the aerospace industry deflated, the Walt Disney Company had become one of the largest employers in Orange County. Anaheim and its convention center were still the economic heart of the county. But all that was to soon change, thanks to what was happening in the south part of the county.

UC Irvine a magnet

"The old high-tech was located in north county, but the new high-tech is located south of the 55 [Costa Mesa Freeway] and Irvine is the hub," said Anil Puri, director of the Institute for Economic and Environmental Studies at California State University, Fullerton.

In 1965, UC Irvine opened its doors on pasture land a few miles inland from Newport Beach. The Irvine Company, a former ranching concern that had metamorphosed into one of the county's biggest developers, donated 1,000 acres of land to the new university, realizing the campus would create an immediate market for the company's surrounding rural land.

As the new campus, jokingly dubbed "Instant University," rose from the pasture land, the Irvine Company master-planned the new city of Irvine around it, hoping its parks and walkways, its artificial lake and built-in recreation would attract affluent home

	Total Number of Companies, 1999	1988-99 Net Change in Companies		Total Employment, 1999	1988-99 Change in Employment		Average Annual Wage, 1999	1988-99 Change in Average Wage
Advanced materials	498	3%		21,862	1%		38,220	50%
Biotech	10	-23%		244	-68%		81,858	131%
Computer hardware	1,010	22%		36,191	0%		70,271	118%
Computer software	2,201	195%		26,830	170%		98,725	173%
Communications	404	418%		17,336	47%		88,195	186%
Defense/aerospace	175	9%		21,912	-54%		63,232	66%
Energy (tech components)	748	25%		39,680	-8%		59,434	97%
Environmental	263	22%		6,646	6%		43,395	69%
Factory automation	470	-4%		14,699	0%		50,393	55%
Mfg. equipment	25	47%		839	-2%		55,530	58%
Mfg. services	836	5%		12,489	-22%		75,932	50%
Medical devices	196	88%		9,598	18%		49,022	65%
Pharmaceuticals	188	11%		7,823	7%		67,194	83%
Photonics	22	10%		882	29%		44,969	72%
Subassembly & components	1,382	4%		44,718	-14%		61,168	90%
Test & measurement	297	46%		6,594	5%		48,435	65%
Transportation	181	-12%		14,496	-59%		55,205	47%
Research & testing labs	418	53%		5,023	21%		59,917	76%
Confidential SIC code*	85	57%		10,567	302%		70,076	26%

* Refers to tech companies that do not disclose employment numbers for proprietary reasons.
Source: Orange County Business Council based on state Employment Development Department data.

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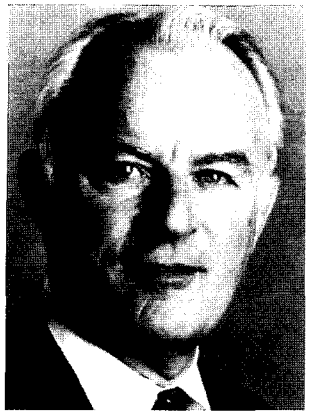

Ted Smith, FileNET founder

"Silicon Valley is probably 10 years farther down the road in terms of economic maturity and intensity than we are, partly because of the amount of venture capital that's poured in [there] over the last 20 years."

— Ted Smith

buyers.

They were right. And high-tech employment followed next.

In 1984, the Irvine Company began to develop and market a 5,000-acre business park called the Irvine Spectrum that attracted a variety of technology-oriented companies using such enticements as 1 million feet of incubator space for start-up entrepreneurs who could lease tiny 500- or 1,000-square-foot cubicles, the kind of space where a "guy could come out of his garage and get into a business park,"according to Dick Sim, chairman of investment properties for the Irvine Company.

The crash of the defense industry did nothing to slow the furious growth of the county's high-tech culture and, in some cases, even contributed to it, such as semi-conductor manufacturer Conexant Systems, Inc., a Rockwell spinoff that ultimately became one of Orange County's largest high-tech firms.

"In any other place where you lost the major industry, the economy would be dead for 20 years," Walrod said. "Orange County recovered in 10 years. We have under 3 percent unemployment."

Today, the Irvine Spectrum has become the sacred temple of Orange County's high-tech business economy, watched over by an eight-story obelisk resembling a miniature Washington Monument that's become a symbol of the county's high-tech boom. The business park now has some 2,700 tenants — about 1,000 of which are in tech-related businesses — and its success has spurred developers to build more technology parks in other parts of the county.

According to the AEA's recent Cybercities report, Orange County now has 93,585 high-tech workers, with 20,700 jobs added between 1993 and 1998 alone. It now ranks third in California, behind San Jose, the No.1 high-tech city with 252,888 workers.

The new social elite

The high-tech crowd isn't part of the old-money crowd that dominated Orange County's social scene in the past. Just 20 years ago, Orange County's social and philanthropic elite was comprised of old-money socialites and real-estate developers, who raised the money to build the Orange County Performing Arts Center on former lima bean fields in Costa Mesa.

Today, the title might just as easily belong to a 30-year-old software entrepreneur wearing a goatee, Hawaiian shirt and Oakley sunglasses.

"They are younger and newer to the community, and their wealth is more recent," said Jerry Mandell, president of the Orange County Performing Arts Center, who is raising $200 million to build a new concert hall for the center by 2005.

Not surprisingly, the county's tech boom plays a big part in his plans. "Today's been a wonderful day in the market," Mandell said cheerfully on a recent weekday afternoon, and he wasn't talking about Albertson's. Unlike many artistic types, Mandell can tell you how the NASDAQ is doing almost any hour of the day.

It's not that he's a big market plunger himself. It's just that he gets so many donations in high-tech stock, he feels like he should keep track. Mandell has two of the region's richest entrepreneurs, Henry Nicholas III and Henry Samueli, co-founders of chip maker Broadcom Corporation, on his board. Both have given many millions to the arts in Orange County.

But Broadcom lost $356.9 million in the first quarter of 2001 and announced in April it would lay off some of its 2,800 employees. Other technology companies also are smarting and retooling during the downturn, though a number of local economic and technology experts say the hit is less severe than in Silicon Valley because Orange County's economy, with its reliance on tourism and real estate construction, is more diversified.

Like their Northern California brethren, Orange County's high- tech entrepreneurs are invested in local schools. FileNET, Broadcom and Conexant together donated $150,000 to Proposition 26 on the March 2000 ballot that sought to reduce the minimum vote requirement for local school bonds.

"We must act now if we are going

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to prepare our young people for careers in the New Economy. Inadequate school facilities are impeding the education process in Orange County and throughout California," said FileNET's Smith.

He and others successfully lobbied UC officials earlier this year to enlarge UC graduate school enrollments. "Education and supply of qualified people is the No. 1 problem in the high-tech industry," said Smith. "We're importing foreign nationals to do these jobs instead of training our own citizens."

And like their northern California counterparts, Orange County's high-tech titans have benefited from the presence of a major research university, in this case, UC Irvine.

"Had we not had UCI here, and the collaboration of the chancellor and professors, we would not have seen so many companies locate here," said Irvine Spectrum's Sim. "That major research organization, with its students and professors, are what makes us special."

Meanwhile, UC Irvine is moving forward with construction on its new engineering complex, which received $20 million in funding from Samueli.

Technology companies are also anticipating involvement with the California Institute for Telecommunications and Information Technology, a joint $300 million research project between several UC campuses and a host of high-tech companies including Broadcom, Conexant, Emulex and others. The research project will focus on emerging technologies such as wireless and broadband communications, and miniaturization technology.

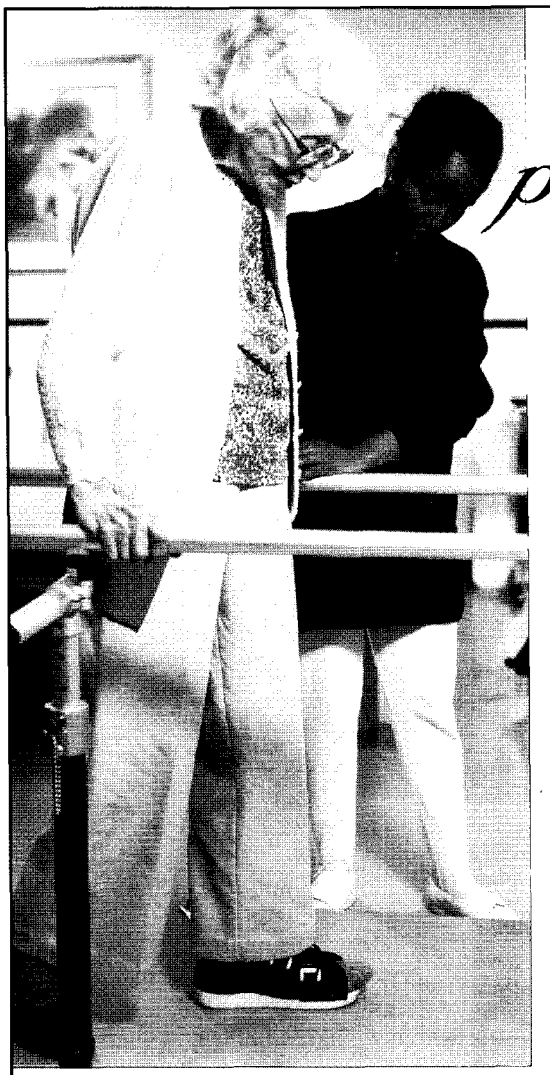
UCI is also in partnership with the Irvine Company in developing a new research business park on the outskirts of the campus.

"Every single company we take into the University Research Park has been carefully screened and agrees to collaborate with UCI," said Jennifer Smith, spokeswoman for the Irvine Company, which is leasing the project. "We're not just going to fill the space out there. We are going to fill it right. I think this region has hugely benefitted from having UCI."

Despite the current chilly climate in the tech economy, Orange County's industry is expected to continue to grow rapidly due to a number of factors: the preponderance of high-tech firms already there, aggressive marketing to attract new high-tech firms, access to UC research facilities and the undeniable virtues of a genial beach climate.

As it grows, one of the challenges will be to see how the newfound prosperity spreads to aging north Orange County, where the large influx of immigrants, still struggling to learn English, remain on the wrong side of the digital divide.

Marla Jo Fisher covers higher education for the Orange County Register *and has written extensively on growth issues. Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com**.



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For whom the road tolls

As California's toll road pioneer, Orange County has thousands of drivers paying for the privilege of driving down the freeway. But the experiment with pay-to-drive roadways has encountered as many detours and gridlock as a 5 p.m. commute. The jury is still out on whether toll roads are the answer to freeway madness.

By Jenifer B. McKim

Some call them "Lexus lanes," exclusive traffic routes reserved for well-heeled drivers willing to pay extra to avoid driving on clogged freeways. Others see the 61 miles of toll roads that crisscross Orange County as a handy, much-needed alternative to bumper-to-bumper traffic during peak commute times. As well as the best means of getting private developers to build the roadways that state government can't or won't.

No matter which side of the road you're on, it's clear that Orange County's toll roads have generated plenty of debate.

Eight years after Orange County became the first — and only — county statewide to open private and publicly owned toll roads, a slew of lawsuits and organized opposition have followed in their concrete path.

Given the controversy, it may be a while before state lawmakers push toll roads anywhere else in California.

"I think a lot of people are insisting that some of the hiccups that occurred in Orange County get worked out before they entertain a conversation about more [toll roads]," said state Senator Joseph Dunn (D-Santa Ana). "Philosophically, I think there is still a great debate about

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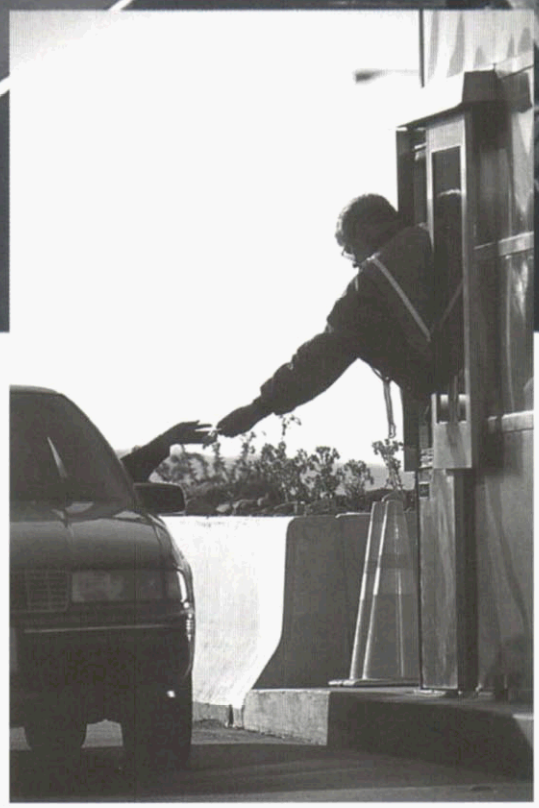
Traffic approaching the San Joaquin Hills toll plaza. Photos in this article are courtesy of the Transportation Corridor Agencies



Collecting the toll.

whether toll roads are the direction we want to go in the state of California."

Orange County became the epicenter for toll road projects in the 1980s during an era when privatization was a popular notion and state spending on transportation was not. Local officials, many of whom felt their GOP-led county was being overlooked by a Democrat-dominated Legislature, were eager to find a way to build the additional freeways they felt Orange County desperately needed.

Public vs. private

They got their wish in 1986, when the Legislature approved a joint powers authority, run by city and county officials, that built and now manages 51 miles of toll roads. The so-called Foothill and Eastern routes link Riverside County commuters to jobs in Irvine, while the San Joaquin Hills route traverses a 15-mile stretch between Costa Mesa and San Juan Capistrano, bypassing the congested juncture of the I-405 and I-5 freeways.

These three toll roads were built with bonds sold to private investors but are run by a public board of city and county elected officials, known as the Transportation Corridor Agencies.

Drivers pay as little as 25 cents for short hops on the Foothill and Eastern toll roads and up to $4.50 for the longest stretch of toll road from Yorba Linda to Mission Viejo.

Three years after approving the publicly run toll roads, the Legislature passed a pilot project to create four privately funded toll roads statewide. So far, only the 91 Express Lanes in Orange County are finished, a 10-

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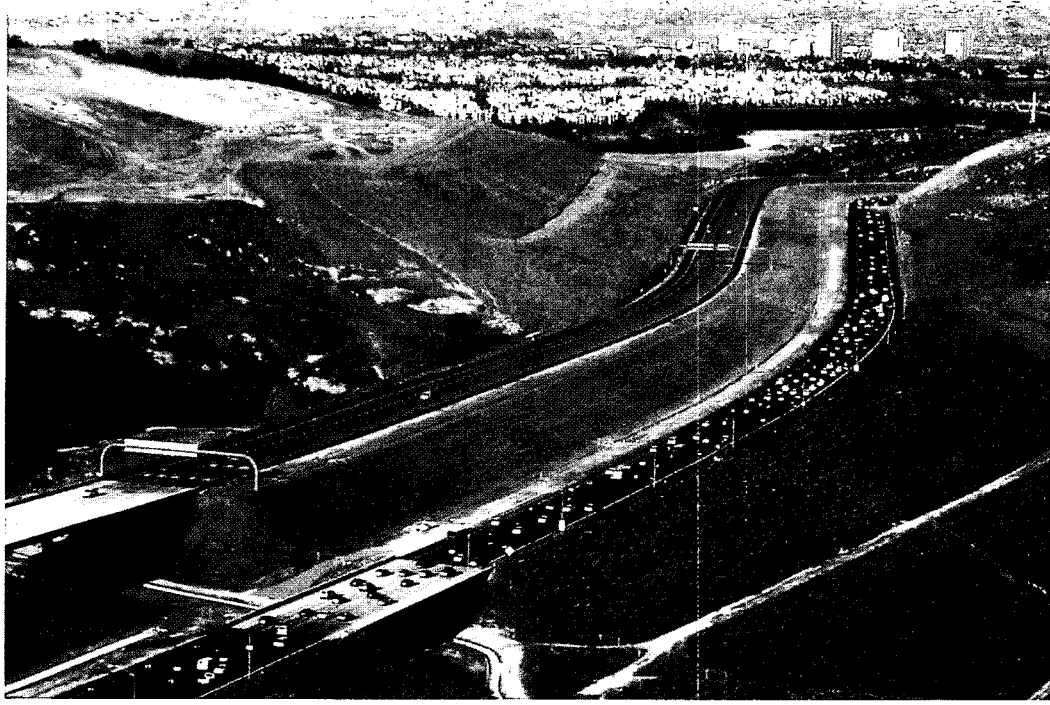
mile route that runs in the median of the notoriously congested Riverside (State Route 91) Freeway. The 91 Express Lanes provide another option for the hundreds of thousands of commuters who live in more affordable Riverside County but travel daily to their jobs in Orange County.

Builders of the road, the California Private Transportation Company, utilize what is known as value pricing, a system where commuters pay a premium for riding the toll road during peak times. The rates can vary from 75 cents during low-traffic hours and up to $4.25 during the heaviest commute periods.



Morning traffic heading toward Newport Beach on the San Joaquin Hills toll road.

The 91 Express Lanes also became the first toll road nationwide to rely solely on electronic tolling, where commuters don't have to stop at tollbooths to pay their fee but can have their tolls electronically debited from a sensor attached to their automobile windshield.

Chained in protest

Both types of Orange County toll roads, public and private, have endured their own financial struggles and organized opposition. After 3.2 miles of the Foothill Toll Road opened in 1993, it took another 10 years for the San Joaquin Hills route to be completed due to delays caused by lawsuits and protests by environmentalists and others concerned that the toll road was destroying some of the last stretches of open space in Orange County. Protestors chained themselves to earth movers and lengthy lawsuits bottled up the project. The road was eventually finished but not without costly concessions, such as "wildlife undercrossings" designed to allow mountain lions and other animals to safely cross beneath the freeway. The entire 51-mile system was completed in 1999.

Meanwhile, concerns about contract details in the 91 Express Lanes have reverberated from Southern California to Sacramento. Terms of the toll road contract prohibit Caltrans from making any traffic improvements along the route for 35 years. The so-called non-competition clause was inserted into the original contract to make the project more palatable to investors and more profitable to toll road operators. If Caltrans were to widen the freeway or extend off-ramps to ease commute times, it was feared that the improvements would lure away the toll roads' paying customers.

Opponents — mostly from Riverside County — became outraged when the clause blocked some freeway improvements in 1999.

Roadway outrage

Riverside officials have filed three different lawsuits involving the toll road. Last month, the City of Corona filed a claim against the state over congestion on city streets caused by the state's inability to make roadway improvements on the 91 Express Lanes.

"The Legislature never intended to allow Caltrans to give a monopoly over a public road to a private toll road for 35 years," said Jeffrey Dunn, an attorney representing Riverside County and the City of Corona. "It is the stupidest thing I have ever seen."

Assemblyman Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside) introduced a bill to prohibit such non-competition clauses in future toll-road contracts. He also pushed a bill last year that would expedite a state buyout of the toll road; a state appraisal is pending. Meanwhile, Assemblywoman Lynn Daucher (R-Brea) has a bill to compensate the toll road company in exchange for Caltrans making freeway improvements.

Outrage over the competition clause surfaced in 1999 when owners of the toll road unsuccessfully tried to sell the project to a non-profit organization using tax-exempt bonds issued by the state. The effort failed amidst allegations of a bloated purchase price of more than $200 million and cozy ties between the buyers and seller.

Lawmakers called hearings to learn more about the non-competition clause and the Attorney General's Office launched an investigation into the sale, a probe that was eventually called off when the sale fizzled.

Attorney General Bill Lockyer, a state lawmaker when the toll road projects were initiated, said the state never intended Caltrans to give up its rights to improve the freeway.

"There was never any intent by the Legislature to allow Caltrans to contract away its control over traffic and safety problems on any portion of State Route 91," Lockyer said in a legal brief submitted to the court.

Financial gridlock

Meanwhile, despite continued upward trends in ridership, financial

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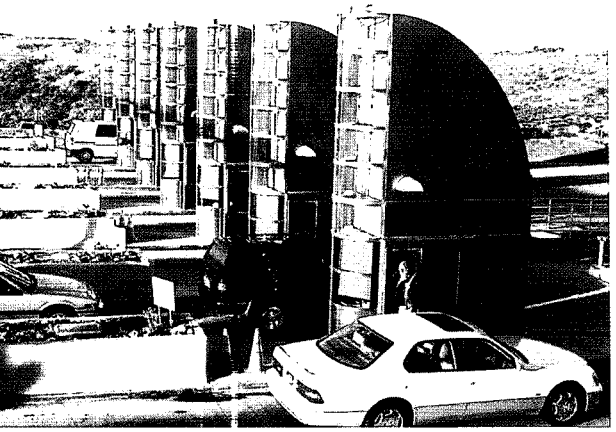


Morning commuters line up at the toll booth plaza.

struggles have plagued the county's toll road operators. Toll roads were launched with the intent that once the financing bonds were paid off, the roads would revert to free lanes. But no one is predicting that outcome anytime soon.

Private investors in the 91 Express Lanes have had to put in millions of dollars to keep the project afloat since the toll road opened in 1995. They also have raised the price of tolls six times since the route opened, charging drivers as much as $4.25 during peak traffic times. They do not expect to see a profit until 2004, when their $130 million in construction costs are repaid.

"The state got 40 lane miles with no tax dollars," said Greg Hulsizer, general manager of the 91 Express Lanes. "We have improved the commute significantly even for those who choose not to use the Express Lanes."

The county's publicly managed toll roads have not fared much better. The Transportation Corridor Agencies have struggled with low ridership and revenues on all their roads, but most drastically with the San Joaquin Hills (State Route 73) Toll Road, the 15-mile route that opened in 1996.

Just a year after its ribbon-cutting, the agency refinanced the project after ridership levels fell 40 percent below initial projections and paid tolls weren't enough to cover debt. Ridership still hovers about 25 percent below projections and last year officials announced they needed to invest an extra $40 million in the project just to keep it financially viable until 2007. Meanwhile, the agency has been cutting costs and promoting the route to drivers on freeway billboards and in mailbox fliers.

Local officials say part of the problem stems from reliance on overly optimistic traffic studies that simply didn't pan out. Orange County Supervisor Todd Spitzer, a board member of the Transportation Corridor Agencies, said members learned that it's "buyer beware" when dealing with traffic and revenue projections.

"A lot of lessons were learned. I think we have done a pretty noble job, all things considered, although we have made our share of mistakes," said Spitzer.

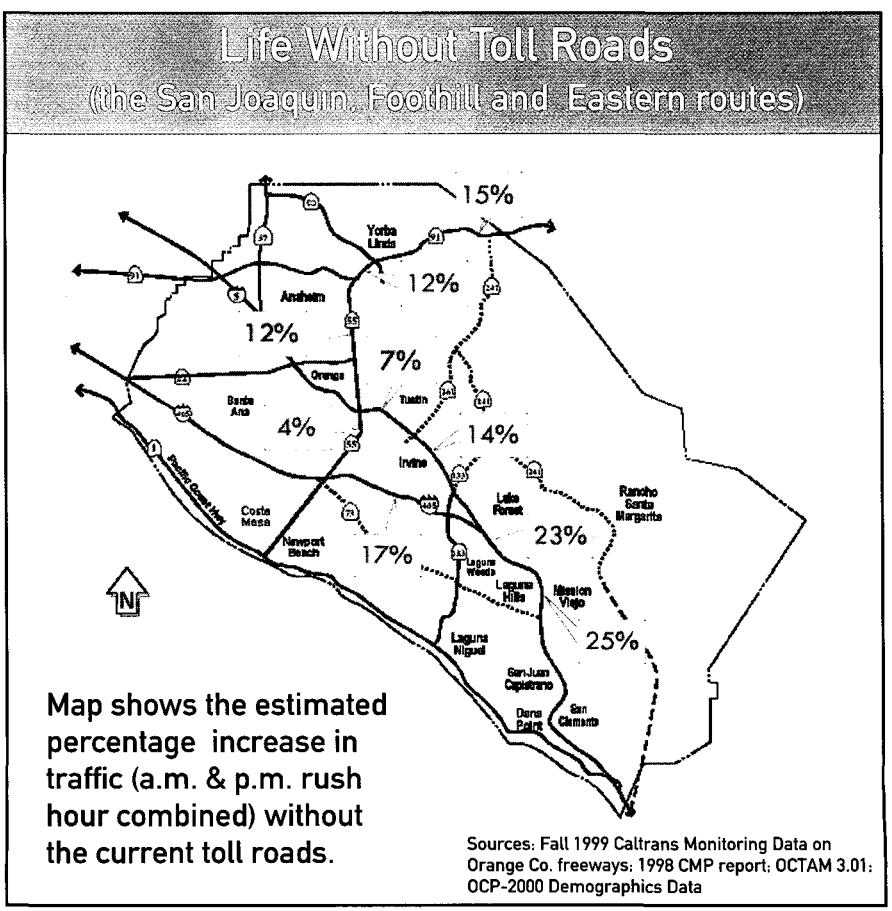
Nevertheless, toll road officials argue that the proof of the toll roads' success is the hundreds of thousands of people who hop onto them each day, reducing traffic on the nearby congested freeways. A recent study by the toll road agency shows that traffic periods on some freeways would increase from less than two hours to more than four hours if the toll roads didn't exist.

"It is not a question of a free road versus a toll road, it is a question of no road versus a toll road," said Lisa Telles, a spokeswoman for the Transportation Corridor Agencies. "We are not [achieving] 100 percent of our projections but we still have a road that is serving the public, and we are making our bond payments."

New toll roads?

Despite the setbacks, new toll road projects are in the works — fueled in part by the backlog in transportation funding that exists. The California Transportation Commission estimated in 1999 that the state has more than $118 billion in unfunded transportation construction projects through 2008.

Meanwhile, environmentalists are in heated battle to stop construction of the last 16-mile segment of the Foothill (State Route 241)Toll Road, which would cut into some of Orange



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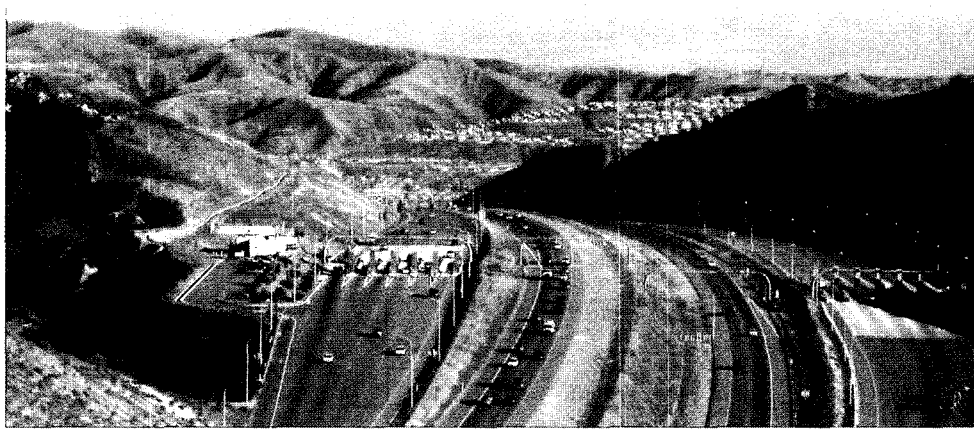
County's last open space on its connection from Mission Viejo to I-5 in San Clemente.

The Sierra Club has made fighting the project, known as the Foothill South, one of its national priorities, saying the route would exacerbate urban sprawl. Organizers opened an office in San Clemente to battle the project on a grass-roots level. Toll road officials responded by pumping thousands of dollars into a marketing effort to promote the route.

"If [the road] is built, it will open Orange County's final, pristine wilderness to homes and urban sprawl," said Elizabeth Lambe, a regional representative for the Sierra Club and coordinator of a toll-road opposition group called Friends of the Foothills. "[Toll roads are] an experiment thrust on Orange County that nobody asked for."



Windy Ridge Toll Plaza on the Eastern Toll Road. Toll booths on the far left and far right lanes collect tolls manually. Drivers in the center lanes have their tolls collected electronically.

At the same time, a private company called American Transportation Development is trying to revive plans to build an 11-mile toll road on pillars above the Santa Ana River. The project would provide an alternate route south through the Garden Grove, Santa Ana and San Diego Freeway intersection, known as the Orange Crush.

Caltrans, so far, has given the project a resounding "no," contending the company failed to meet a 10-year-old agreement that called for construction to begin by last January. Privately, many surmise that the state just doesn't want to get involved in another toll road debacle while it is currently fighting legal battles over conflicts with the 91 Express Lane.

"It's as dead as you can get," said Dave Elbaum, transportation planner for the Orange County Transportation Authority and a toll road supporter. "They showed up at the perfect wrong time."

American Transportation Development President Grant Holland, who wants to build the toll road, said he's surprised by the state's opposition. More than $10 million already has been invested in plans for the project to date, according to Holland, who says the state's opposition makes no fiscal sense.

"They know they don't have enough money for transportation," he said. "We are prepared to stand up and spend $1 billion and we were told they are not interested in it. For reasons I am not completely clear [on], the director of Caltrans wants something else done."

Lessons learned

Riverside County Supervisor Bob Buster, one of the most outspoken opponents of the 91 Express Lanes, said recently he would consider the possibility of requiring tolls for commuters along a different route.

"I don't oppose [toll roads] in general. I think even in the land of freeways there may be other areas where they work out pretty well," Buster said. "As long as we have a state Legislature or governor who is unwilling to raise gas taxes, then you are scrambling around for whatever way you have to get the funds."

Meanwhile, more and more drivers continue to choose the Orange County toll roads each day, belying critics who said Californians would never accept having to pay tolls.

But there are those who are opposed to toll roads on purely philosophical grounds. Supervisor Spitzer, who sits on the Transportation Corridor Agencies toll road board, said he is against the fee-for-ride routes because they require taxpayers to pay twice to use state roads.

"From a global perspective, I would say I don't think we should build toll roads in California," said Spitzer. "I think commuters deserve to drive on free roads.

Clearly, Orange County has driven down a new road in transportation planning. What's been learned?

Assemblywoman Daucher says, if another toll road is built in the state, it should be overseen by elected officials and be built along a new corridor rather than within or alongside an existing freeway, like the 91 Express Lanes.

"Do I favor toll roads all over the state? No. But they have a purpose," Daucher said.

Senator Dunn, who generally dislikes the concept of toll roads but concedes they may be a "necessary evil" in some locations, would consider a new fee-for-ride route if it had a limited non-competition clause. When it comes to toll roads in Orange County, he said, the "jury is out on whether the experiment has succeeded or failed."

Jenifer B. McKim, who covered transportation for three years, currently writes on children and family issues for the Orange County Register. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com**.

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Earthquake insurance gives state a jolt

by Dana Wilkie

WASHINGTON — Nine months ago, California's congressional delegation was congratulating itself for beating back a new money-saving plan from the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The idea was to force states to buy insurance if they wanted federal money for future earthquake, flood or other natural-disaster damage to public buildings.

This meant that cities, counties, public hospitals, school districts, universities, jails — many of which would not qualify for such insurance even if they could afford it — would have had no place to turn should their buildings be crippled by a major quake. It took $5 billion of federal assistance to repair damage from 1994's Northridge quake. Imagine repairing buildings damaged in that catastrophe without insurance or help from Washington. That's a lot of bake sales.

At the time, FEMA merely floated its idea in what the agency called an "advanced notice of proposed rule making." Typically, this is government jargon designed to soften the blow of a proposal that could raise holy hell.

FEMA did catch hell. The protests from states — Florida with its hurricanes, California with its quakes — were healthy and loud. In California, even a moderate temblor can cause serious and expensive damage to a building. But earthquakes — argued the state's two U.S. senators, its entire 52-member House delegation and Governor Gray Davis — are not predictable in their timing or their strength. The 1994 Northridge quake, for example, hit an area where there was no known faultline. How could an insurance company have calculated that risk? Without that calculation, insurers either won't offer coverage, or they will offer it at sky-high prices. And so last year, FEMA began learning what California had long known — that the cost to adequately cover its buildings is either prohibitively expensive — $12 million annually for the University of California and $25 million for Los Angeles County — or not available at all. Either way, the governor argued, the result would be financial disaster for the state. And that was before Davis began eating into California's surplus to pay for power.

FEMA eventually backed down with a promise to study the complaints of California and other disaster-prone states before pursuing the idea.

As of this writing, FEMA had yet to hire anyone to perform that study of the cost and availability of earthquake insurance. Regardless, the insurance requirement resurfaced this spring, in President George W.Bush's 2002 budget as a way of saving $83 million for FEMA — an agency long under pressure to trim its spending. The argument is that disaster recovery efforts and the repair of public structures cost the federal government increasing amounts of money. In the last decade, California received more than a third of all federal disaster aid — some $9 billion of the $25.4 billion spent. Cities, counties and states, the thinking goes, should help the drain on federal coffers by purchasing insurance.

Once again, a California delegation that normally can't agree on the weather has united to protest a federal plan forcing disaster insurance on states.

Appearing there in the black-and-white of budget documents, the plan acquired an authority it previously did not have. Once again, a California delegation that normally can't agree on the weather has united to protest the budget item "until such time as [FEMA] provides Congress with an acceptable, comprehensive insurance study," says a letter from the congressional delegation to the chairman of the committee reviewing FEMA's budget.

Strangely, no one at FEMA can produce the people who brought this idea to White House budget writers without completing the insurance study promised to California and other states. A FEMA spokeswoman said it was the Office of Budget Management — the sourpuss that has badgered FEMA about its spending — that put the insurance requirement in the 2002 budget. Later, she said FEMA was involved in the budget item, though she could not say who at FEMA.

Odd that an idea that was once nothing but an "advanced notice of a proposed rule" has morphed into a major cost-saving mechanism for a White House bound to finance its promised tax cut — in part by trimming government spending.

Contributing Editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C.., correspondent for the San Diego Union Tribune. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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An Orange County snapshot

Growing up in suburban Orange County in the 1960s was all about the "new:" new streets, new homes, new schools. The past was all but forgotten. But, as a writer discovers, going home often yields a fresh perspective; in this case, a discovery of the "old" Orange County.

Amidst the fabled orange groves, the author (right) poses with her brother and grandparents, 1959.

By Kathleen Les

It was in the urban California cities where I spent my college years that I discovered the pleasures of dusty old brick buildings, alive with personality, and the joys of walkable streets. These were a kind of nirvana to me, having grown up in suburban Orange County. The modest 1960s tract house that I called home from the time I was 10 years old sported little of architectural distinction besides a perfectly plain wood door and a pair of faux wood shutters guarding its two square front windows.

The Orange County of my youth, nearly four decades ago, was an ever-expanding landscape of shiny new neighborhoods — "new" being the operative word. Uniform new houses, new schools with no traditions, and newly arrived families, all from somewhere else. As quickly as newly built subdivisions and shopping malls spread like ground cover across the flatlands of Orange County, newcomers fixed their gaze on the future, with little interest in preserving the past.

I never intended to come back home. But, instead of prestigious job offers, a recession greeted me after college graduation in 1973, making free rent with my parents all the more attractive. Though for a time I found work with urban planning firms churning out ever more suburban neighborhoods, pushing Orange County's boundaries held little interest for me. Given the rich urban streetscapes I'd experienced in the university towns of Berkeley and Westwood, I was more intrigued with unearthing the county history I'd never known growing up.

I was so drawn to the notion of taking a trip back in time to help a fast-growing county discover its roots — and better understand my suburban

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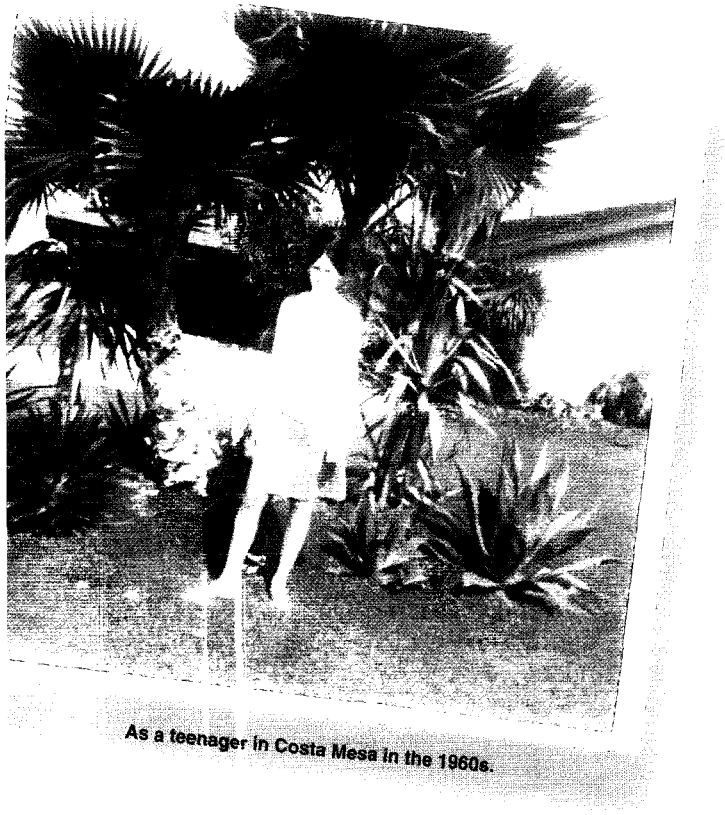


As a teenager in Costa Mesa in the 1960s.

origins as well — that I reversed course and took a job unraveling a city's past by compiling an architectural inventory of its oldest buildings. In my new job, I was in charge of combing the streets in two square miles of Santa Ana, the county seat of Orange County, founded in 1869.

With a camera and note pad in hand, I strolled Santa Ana's history-rich avenues, decoding the city's past by deciphering the architectural language of the buildings that remained. Wide shiplap siding, coupled with tall, narrow windows and slender sculpted columns distinguished 1880s and 1890s Victorians. Much narrower clapboard siding, boxier windows and wider columns, fluted at the top, pointed to the post-1900 period when architectural styles took a decidedly classical turn.

It was a feast for the eyes, but only a few at the time were paying much attention. In Santa Ana's nearly forgotten quarter, intricately scrolled brackets punctuated eaves, ornately carved doors told of pride of ownership, and window molding was so delicately laced with hand-carved ornamentation, it made the unadorned stucco house of my childhood look like the design work of primitives. Less than 10 minutes from my hometown of Costa Mesa, but a time warp away, stood buildings depicting nearly every architectural style rolled out in the first half of the 20th century: Beaux Arts banks, Gothic churches, Eastlake Victorian houses and infinite variations on the California bungalow.

Poring over parched plat maps and carefully preserved address books (the equivalent of today's phone books), I discovered history spilling out of pages published long ago. Old maps showed the evolution from farm to city block. Directories that cross-referenced owners and addresses revealed the story of Midwesterners venturing West for a try at gentleman farming. And they told of later arrivals who wanted nothing to do with tending chickens and orange groves and instead settled into small California bungalows where life was confined to one small city lot.

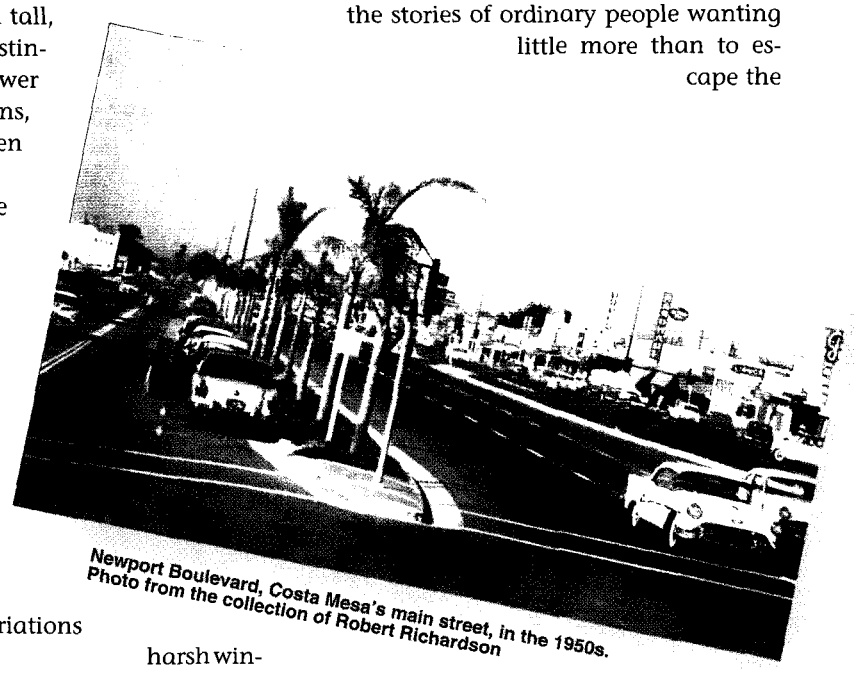
The residents who moved to towns like Santa Ana and erected buildings to match their dreams nearly a century ago were the forerunners of California's future economy. They were merchants who started general stores that later became modern grocery chains and bankers who fostered growing financial empires. By the 1970s, many of the businesses had long since moved to newer suburban turf, but the buildings still stood proudly, if not forlornly, such as the old vaudeville theaters now left without purpose, unfit for modern moving pictures.

What old maps and books didn't reveal, local old-timers — more than eager to share their recollections — did. Longtime residents such as then-78-year-old Adeline Walker, born and raised in Santa Ana, helped stitch together missing pieces in fragmented stories of enterprising businessmen and the now remodeled buildings.

Mrs. Walker, as she was respectfully called, once told me she hadn't left town in more than 35 years.

"Why should I?" she said with the alertness of one who has made each day of her life matter. "Everything I need to see and learn is right here."

Similarly, nearly everything I needed to see and learn about California's march forward was embodied in Santa Ana's story. Land grabs by railroad barons, shady deals by purveyors of real estate, adroit maneuvering by local politicians eager to help accelerate the city's growth. But also personified in Santa Ana's aging buildings were the stories of ordinary people wanting little more than to escape the harsh winters and hard financial circumstances of the Midwest and East for gentler days under the California sun.



Newport Boulevard, Costa Mesa's main street, in the 1950s. Photo from the collection of Robert Richardson

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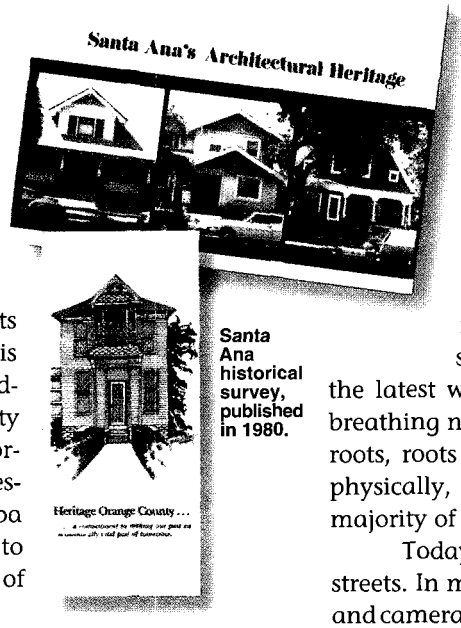
For one year, I was immersed in an era before cul-de-sacs and busy four-lane boulevards defined modern Orange County. As part of the architectural inventory, more than 1,500 historic homes and commercial buildings were ultimately photographed, researched and documented. It was a legacy I knew little of growing up, and one which most Orange County residents rarely encounter today. Yet Santa Ana is not unique. Within the heart of the modern megalopolis that is Orange County today lies an abundance of older neighborhoods rich in history and architectural presence. The cities of Orange, Anaheim, Yorba Linda, Fullerton and Laguna Beach, to name a few, all contain a sizable nugget of their earlier selves.



Santa Ana historical survey, published in 1980.

But even as I was inventorying its past, Santa Ana was adding another thread to its historic fabric. New immigrants, this time from south of California's border, were flooding into the city's older neighborhoods. They flocked to downtown Santa Ana partly because of an abundance of low-rent housing, but also because the walkability of the city's older downtown neighborhoods made cars unnecessary for traveling between shops, schools and churches. With everything within easy walking distance, a new population reclaimed Santa Ana's streets, stores and even its old movie theaters where Spanish language films, without need of state-of-the-art film equipment, began filling the screens.

It's a story that has been repeated in numerous northern Orange County cities as aging downtowns — long ago forsaken by former residents for new suburban enclaves — become home to the latest wave of immigrants. It's they who are breathing new life into Orange County's historical roots, roots long since severed, economically and physically, from the shiny subdivisions where the majority of the county's population lives.

Today I can easily put myself back on those streets. In my mind's eye, with the sun at my back and camera slung over my shoulder, I'm there again squinting to test a photo angle. Through my imaginary lens I focus on a pointed gable, paint peeling but its delicately sculpted finial still infused with the artistry and enterprise that flourished before my time. And I remember the year, not so very long ago, that I came back home to find the *other* Orange County.

Kathleen Les is associate editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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*Past month drinking among 12 - 17 year olds, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000.

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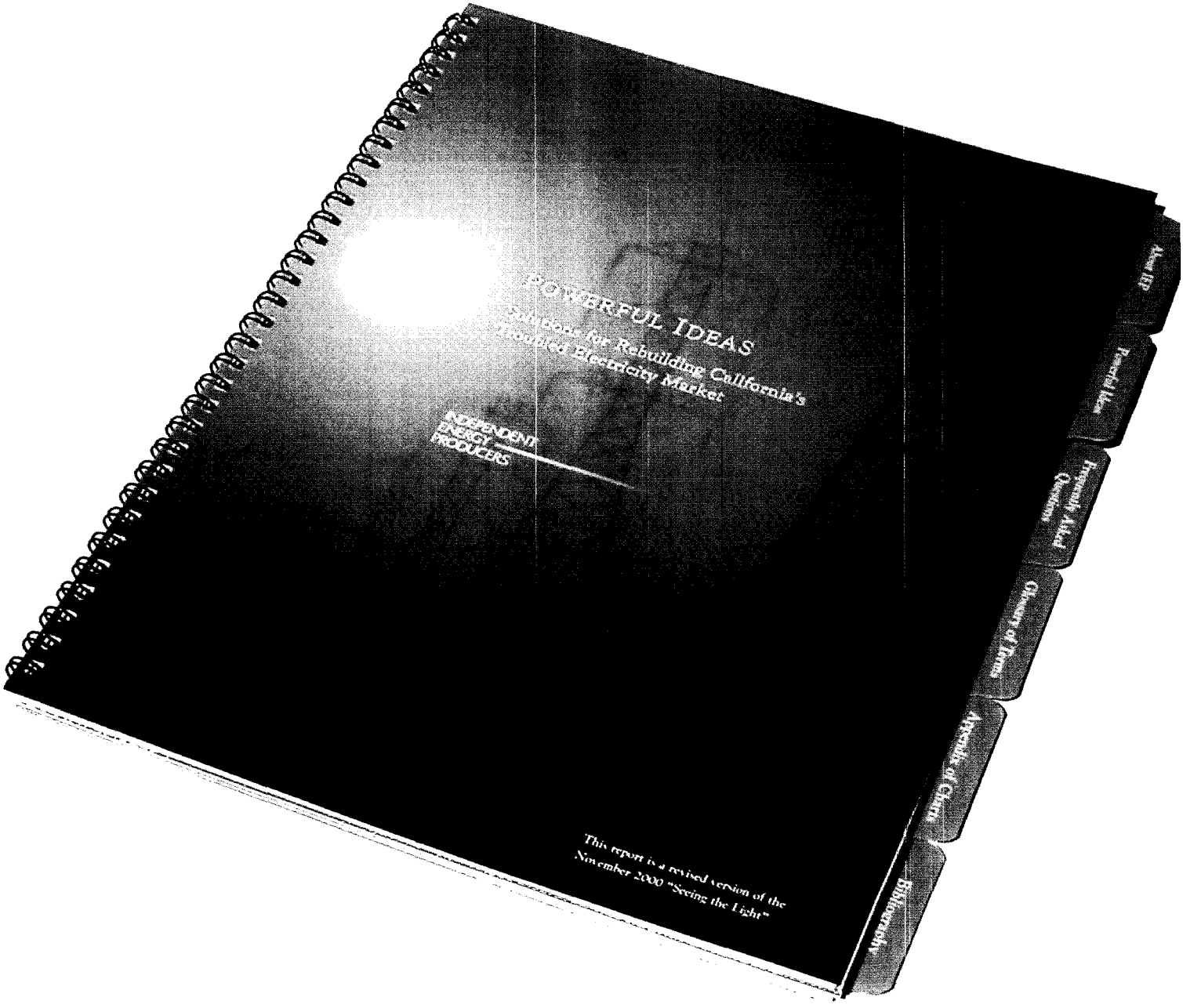

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